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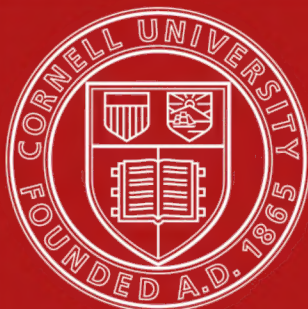
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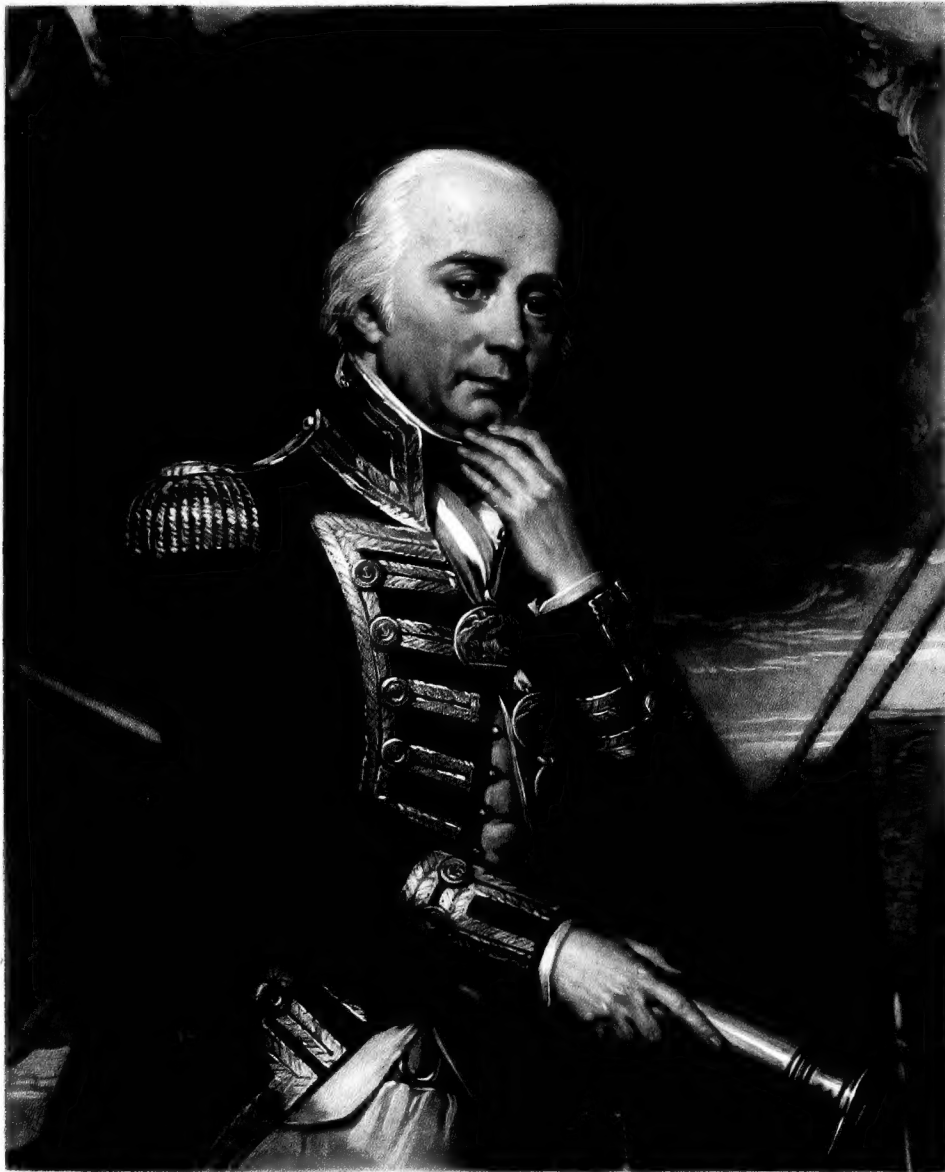


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Painted by F. Howard.

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VICE ADMIRAL LORD COLLINGWOOD.

A
SELECTION
FROM THE
PUBLIC AND PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE
OF
VICE-ADMIRAL LORD COLLINGWOOD:
INTERSPERSED WITH
MEMOIRS OF HIS LIFE.

BY G. L. NEWNHAM COLLINGWOOD, ESQ. F.R.S.

LONDON:
JAMES RIDGWAY, 169, PICCADILLY.

M.DCCC.XXVIII.

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LONDON:

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TO
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
THE DUKE OF CLARENCE,
LORD HIGH ADMIRAL OF GREAT BRITAIN,

&c. &c. &c. &c.

SIR,

THE permission which Your ROYAL HIGHNESS has been graciously pleased to give me, to insert in this Volume Your ROYAL HIGHNESS'S Letters to Lord COLLINGWOOD, demands from me the most public acknowledgment of my gratitude: and as there is no one to whom a Work containing the Memoirs of an eminent Naval Officer can be so properly dedicated

as to Your ROYAL HIGHNESS, I venture to inscribe it to Your ROYAL HIGHNESS, and respectfully to solicit for it your countenance and protection.

Your ROYAL HIGHNESS was pleased to distinguish Lord COLLINGWOOD by your friendship, although he never had the honour of being personally presented to you: but many of his friends remember how he used to repeat what he had heard from Lord NELSON and Captain WILFRED COLLINGWOOD, that no Ship in the English Navy was ever conducted in a more able and Officer-like manner than that which Your ROYAL HIGHNESS commanded; and how often he expressed his concern that more frequent opportunities had not been afforded for the display of Your ROYAL HIGHNESS's activity and talent. No one, therefore, can doubt the cordiality with which Lord COLLINGWOOD, if his life had been spared to the present time, would have partaken in the satisfaction and pride with which every member

and lover of the British Navy now behold Your ROYAL HIGHNESS placed at the head of that noble Profession, through all the gradations of which Your ROYAL HIGHNESS has passed with honour, and to the promotion of whose interest and glory you are so truly devoted.

I have the honour to be, with profound respect,

SIR,

Your ROYAL HIGHNESS'S

Most obliged

And obedient humble Servant,

G. L. NEWNHAM COLLINGWOOD.

Moor-House, Hawkhurst,

December 5, 1827.

CONTENTS.

LETTER	PAGE	LETTER	PAGE
1. To the Editor of a Naval Publication, containing the Narrative of Lord Collingwood's earlier Service	5	14. To J. E. Blackett, Esq.	28
1785.		1797.	
2. From Captain Nelson	8	15. To Mrs. Collingwood, on the Victory off Cape St. Vincent.	29
1786.		16. To J. E. Blackett, Esq., on the Same	32
3. From the Same to Captain Locker ..	9	17. From Commodore Nelson.	35
1787.		18. To Commodore Nelson.	36
4. From the Same, on the Death of Cap- tain Wilfred Collingwood.	10	19. From Captain Dacres	37
5. To Mr. Lane, on the Duties of a young Officer	12	20. From the Honourable Admiral Wal- degrave	ib.
1792.		21. To J. E. Blackett, Esq.	ib.
6. To Captain Nelson	14	22. From Earl Spencer, transmitting the two Medals for the 1st of June and 14th of February	40
1794.		23. To J. E. Blackett, Esq., on the Mu- tiny at the Nore, &c.	ib.
7. To J. E. Blackett, Esq., on the Action of the 1st of June	16	Lord Collingwood's Opinions and Prac- tice with respect to Discipline and Corporal Punishment	42
8. From Rear-Admiral Sir George Bowyer, to Admiral Roddam, on Captain Collingwood's Conduct	21	24. To J. E. Blackett, Esq.	52
1795.		1798.	
9. From Captain Nelson	ib.	25. To the Same.	53
1796.		26. To the Same.	56
10. To J. E. Blackett, Esq.	22	27. To the Same.	57
11. From Captain Nelson	24	28. To the Same.	59
12. To J. E. Blackett, Esq.	ib.	29. To Sir H. Nelson, on the Victory of the Nile	61
13. To the Same.	27	30. To Captain Ball	62
		31. To J. E. Blackett, Esq.	64
		1799.	
		32. To the Same	65

LETTER	PAGE	LETTER	PAGE
Captain Collingwood raised to the Rank of Rear-Admiral	66	57. From Lord Nelson	87
33. To J. E. Blackett, Esq.	ib.	58. To J. E. Blackett, Esq.	88
34. To the Same.....	67.	On Napoleon's Project for the Invasion of England	89
35. To the Same, on Education of Boys for the Sea Service	ib.	59. From Lord Nelson	91
1800.		60. From the Same.....	92
36. To the Same.....	68	61. To Lord Nelson.....	93
37. To the Same.....	69	62. From Lord Nelson	94
38. To the Same.....	70	63. To J. E. Blackett, Esq.	ib.
39. To the Same.....	ib.	64. To Mrs. Collingwood	95
1801.		Admiral Collingwood, with three Sail of the Line, blockades the Combined Fleet of thirty-six, in Cadiz	96
40. To the Same.....	71	65. To J. E. Blackett, Esq.	97
41. To the Same.....	72	66. From Lord Nelson	98
42. From Lord Nelson	73	67. From the Same.....	ib.
43. To J. E. Blackett, Esq.	ib.	68. From the Same.....	99
44. To the Same.....	74	69. To Lord Nelson	ib.
45. To the Same.....	75	70. From Lord Nelson	100
46. To the Same, on receiving the News of the Peace of Amiens, and on Education of Boys for Sea	ib.	71. From the Same.....	101
47. To the Same.....	77	72. From the Same.....	ib.
1802.		73. From the Same.....	102
48. To the Same.....	78	74. From the Same.....	ib.
Admiral Collingwood's Occupations during the Peace of Amiens.....	ib	75. From the Same.....	ib.
1803.		76. Admiral Collingwood's Despatch on the Battle of Trafalgar	103
49. To J. E. Blackett, Esq., on the Command of the In-shore Squadron, off Brest	79	Admiral Collingwood's Personal Conduct in the Battle	107
50. To the Same.....	81	Plan of the Battle.....	112
51. To the Same.....	82	General Orders	114, 115
1804.		77. To W. Marsden, Esq.	115
52. To the Same.....	83	78. To J. E. Blackett, Esq.	117
53. To the Same.....	ib.	79. To W. Marsden, Esq.	121
54. To the Same.....	84	80. From the Marquess de la Solana ...	124
55. To the Same.....	85	81. From the Same.....	129
1805.		82. From the Same.....	ib.
56. To the Same.....	86	83. To Admiral Alava.....	130
		84. From Admiral Alava	ib.
		85. To the Marquess de la Solana	133
		86. From the Marquess de la Solana....	ib.
		87. To Lord Barham	134
		88. To the Same.....	135
		89. From Col. Taylor, Private Secretary,	

CONTENTS.

ix

LETTER	PAGE	LETTER	PAGE
to His Majesty George III., to W. Marsden, Esq.	137	123. To Lord Barham	183
90. From H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence Admiral Collingwood's Elevation to the Peerage	138 ib.	124. From the Emperor of Morocco to the King	185
91. To Lady Collingwood	139	125. To the Right Honourable Charles Grey	186
92. To Lord Barham	141	126. From Lord Nelson to Lord Strangford	187
93. To H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence ..	142	127. To Lord Robert Fitzgerald	189
94. To Lord Radstock	143	128. To Lady Collingwood	191
95. To Lady Collingwood	144	129. To J. E. Blackett, Esq.	193
96. From Colonel Taylor, to W. Marsden, Esq.	145	130. To the King of Naples	194
97. To Lady Collingwood	ib.	131. To Sir John Acton	195
1806.		132. To the Right Honourable C. Arbutnot	197
98. To J. E. Blackett, Esq.	147	133. To Lady Collingwood	198
99. To Hon. Capt. Blackwood.....	149	134. To the Right Honourable William Windham	199
State of Europe at the time when Lord Collingwood succeeded to the Chief Command in the Mediter- ranean	150	135. From the King of Naples.....	201
100. From the Queen of Naples	156	136. To Lord Radstock.....	202
101. To General Sir James Craig, K.B. ..	157	137. From Sir John Acton	203
102. To Lord Barham	158	138. To Lady Collingwood, on the Educa- tion of their Children	204
103. From the Dey of Algiers	159	139. To Lord Howick	206
104. To Lord Barham	160	140. To Lord Radstock	207
105. To Lady Collingwood	ib.	141. To the Right Honourable W. Windham	209
106. From the King of Naples.....	161	142. To His Excellency Hugh Elliott, Esq. ib,	
107. From Sir John Acton	163	143. To Lady Collingwood	211
108. To the Queen of Naples	164	144. To J. E. Blackett, Esq.	212
109. To His Excellency Hugh Elliott, Esq. ib.		145. To Lord Howick	213
110. From the King of Naples	166	146. To Rear-Admiral Sir W. Sidney Smith	214
111. To Lady Collingwood	167	147. To Lord Radstock.....	217
112. To J. E. Blackett, Esq.	168	148. To Lady Collingwood	218
113. To the King of Naples.....	169	149. To Lord Howick	219
114. To Lord Radstock	170	150. To J. E. Blackett, Esq.	221
115. To the Dey of Algiers	172	151. To Lord Howick	222
116. To Lady Collingwood	173	152. To J. E. Blackett, Esq.	223
117. To His Excellency Hugh Elliott, Esq. 175		153. To Lady Collingwood	224
118. To Lord Barham	176	154. To Sir W. Sidney Smith	226
119. To Lady Collingwood	177	155. To Lord Radstock.....	227
120. To the Right Honourable C. Grey ..	179	156. To J. E. Blackett, Esq.	229
121. To Lady Collingwood	180	State of Turkey and Sir John Duck- worth's Expedition to Constantinople	230
122. From the French Admiral Rossily ..	182	1807.	
		157. To Captain Clavell	234
		158. To Lady Collingwood	235
		159. To the Right Honourable T. Grenville	236

LETTER	PAGE	LETTER	PAGE
160. To Lord Radstock	237	200. To the Earl of Mulgrave	291
161. To the Right Honourable T. Grenville	239	201. To the Senate of Syracuse	293
162. To Captain Clavell	240	202. To the Right Hon. W. Drummond ..	294
163. To Sir Alexander Ball	241	203. To the Marquess di Circello.....	ib.
164. To Lady Collingwood	242	204. To Viscount Castlereagh	295
165. To the Honourable Captain Blackwood	243	205. To Sir A. Ball	296
166. To the Right Honourable T. Grenville	244	206. To the Right Hon. W. Drummond..	297
167. From a Spanish Lady	246	207. To the Earl of Mulgrave	298
168. To Lord Radstock	247	208. To the Same	299
169. To General Sir Hew Dalrymple	249	209. To the Pacha of Egypt.....	300
170. To Lady Collingwood	250	210. To Viscount Castlereagh	302
171. To J. E. Blackett, Esq.	251	211. From the Marquess di Circello.....	ib.
172. To Lord Radstock	252	212. To Lady Collingwood	303
173. From the Bey of Tunis	ib.	213. To Viscount Castlereagh	304
174. To the Bey of Tunis.....	254	214. To Lord Radstock.....	305
175. To Viscount Castlereagh	255	215. To the Earl of Mulgrave	307
176. To Lieut.-General Sir John Moore ..	257	216. To the Reis Effendi	308
177. To the Capitan Pacha	ib.	217. To Lady Collingwood	309
178. From the Capitan Pacha	258	218. From His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence	311
179. To the Earl of Mulgrave	ib.	General Order on an expected Battle	313
180. To Lady Collingwood	261	219. From the Pacha of Egypt.....	315
181. To the Earl of Mulgrave	265	Commencement of the Spanish Revo- lution	317
182. To the Capitan Pacha	267	220. To the Archduke Charles of Austria	318
183. From the Capitan Pacha.....	269	221. To the Honourable W. W. Pole	319
184. To J. E. Blackett, Esq.	ib.	222. To the Right Hon. W. Drummond ..	321
185. From Captain Hallowell, on the Eva- cuation of Alexandria	271	223. From Ali Pacha	322
186. To the Honourable W. W. Pole	272	224. To Don Thomas de Morla	323
Instructions to Flag Officers, &c....	273	225. To the Same	324
187. To Sir Alexander Ball	ib.	226. To the Hon. W. W. Pole.....	325
188. To the Earl of Mulgrave	247	227. To Don Thomas de Morla	ib.
189. To Vice-Admiral Thornborough	275	228. To Lady Collingwood	326
190. From the Queen of Naples	277	229. To Viscount Castlereagh	328
191. To J. E. Blackett, Esq.	278	230. To Don Thomas de Morla.....	331
192. To Viscount Castlereagh	280	231. To Lord Radstock	332
193. To Ali Pacha	281	232. To the Earl of Mulgrave	333
194. To the Earl of Mulgrave	283	233. To Ali Pacha	ib.
195. From the Marquess di Circello.....	284	234. To Viscount Castlereagh	344
196. To his Children.....	285	235. To the Same.....	336
197. To Viscount Castlereagh	287	236. To Lieut.-General Sir John Stuart ..	ib.
1808.		237. To the Earl of Mulgrave	337
198. To J. E. Blackett, Esq.	288	238. To Viscount Castlereagh	339
199. To the Right Hon. W. Drummond..	290	239. To the Earl of Mulgrave	341

CONTENTS.

xi

LETTER	PAGE	LETTER.	PAGE.
240. To the Earl of Mulgrave	342	280. To the King of Naples.....	404
241. From the Same.....	344	281. To the Marquess di Circello.....	ib.
242. From Mahomed Ben Abdeslam Slowey	345	282. To His Excellency Robert Adair, Esq.	405
243. To Viscount Castlereagh	346	283. To the Earl of Mulgrave	407
244. To Admiral Sir Charles Cotton.....	348	284. To Lord Radstock	ib.
245. From Father Manuel Gil to Major Cox	349	285. To the Same.....	409
246. To Major Cox	350	286. To Lady Collingwood	410
247. To his Children.....	351	287. To the Marquess di Circello.....	412
248. From the Marquess di Circello	352	288. To the Dey of Algiers	414
249. To Don Thomas de Morla.....	353		
250. To Captain Clavell	354		1809.
251. To His Excellency Mahomed Ben		289. To J. E. Blackett, Esq.	417
Abdeslam Slowey	355	290. From the Earl of Mulgrave.....	ib.
252. To Viscount Castlereagh	357	291. To Lord Radstock.....	418
253. To Lady Collingwood	360	292. To the Earl of Mulgrave	420
254. To Viscount Castlereagh	362	293. To the Same.....	421
255. From General Morla, enclosing a Des-		294. To the Marquess di Circello.....	424
patch from the Supreme Council of		295. To His Excellency Robert Adair, Esq.	425
Seville to that Officer	364	296. To Lieut.-Gen. Sir John Stuart	426
256. From Ali Pacha	368	297. To His Excellency Robert Adair, Esq.	428
257. To Lieut.-Gen. Sir Hew Dalrymple..	369	298. To the Honourable Miss Collingwood	430
258. To Viscount Castlereagh	371	299. To J. E. Blackett, Esq.	432
259. To the Honourable Miss Collingwood	372	300. To Lady Collingwood	435
260. To Viscount Castlereagh	373	301. To the Earl of Mulgrave	437
261. To the Marquess di Circello.....	375	302. To the Same.....	439
262. To Don Pedro Ripolle	377	303. To the Same.....	441
263. To Lord Radstock.....	378	304. To J. E. Blackett, Esq.	443
264. To Lady Collingwood	380	305. To the Earl of Mulgrave	444
265. To Viscount Castlereagh	381	306. To Rear-Admiral Purvis	445
266. To the Same.....	382	307. To Lady Collingwood	447
267. From Viscount Castlereagh.....	384	308. To his Daughters	448
268. To Viscount Castlereagh	385	309. To the Earl of Mulgrave	451
269. To Lady Collingwood	387	310. To His Excellency Robert Adair, Esq.	452
270. To the Hon. William Wellesley Pole	388	311. To J. E. Blackett, Esq.....	454
271. To the Earl of Mulgrave	389	312. To the Earl of Mulgrave	455
272. From the Earl of Mulgrave	390	313. To Lord Amherst	457
273. To Lady Collingwood	391	314. To F. Petrucci, Esq.	459
274. To the Vizier Ali Pacha of Albania..	392	315. To the Sciahan Bey	460
275. From the Earl of Mulgrave	396	316. To the Earl of Mulgrave	462
276. To His Excellency Robert Adair, Esq.	397	317. To Lady Collingwood	463
277. To Viscount Castlereagh	399	318. To Lieut.-Gen. Sir John Stuart	464
278. To Mohamed Ali, Pacha of Egypt ..	400	319. To His Imperial Highness the Arch-	
279. To His Majesty's Consul-General at		duke John of Austria	466
Algiers	402	320. To Rear-Admiral Sotheby	467

LETTER	PAGE	LETTER	PAGE
321. To Sir John Stuart	470	333. From His Royal Highness the Duke of	
322. To Rear-Admiral Martin	474	Clarence	489
323. To the Earl of Mulgrave	476		
324. To J. E. Blackett, Esq.	478	1810.	
325. To Sir John Stuart	ib.	334. To J. E. Blackett, Esq.	490
326. To the Earl of Mulgrave	480	335. To Captain Clavell	492
327. To Mrs. Hall	481	336. To the Earl of Mulgrave	493
328. To Captain Clavell	483	337. To the Governor, Clergy, Jurats, and	
329. To Lady Collingwood	484	Inhabitants of Mahon	494
330. To Lord Radstock	486	Death and Character	ib.
331. To the Earl of Mulgrave	487	338. From His Royal Highness the Duke of	
332. To J. E. Blackett, Esq.	488	Clarence to Lady Collingwood	500

ERRATA.

Page 13, line 10, *for rated read ruled.*

— 140, line 15, *for Sir James read Sir John.*

— 152, line 3, *for communications read communication.*

— 166, line 20, *for Geves read Genes.*

— 183, line 7, *for I now write read I wrote.*

— 336, line 23, and p. 464, line 20, *for Stewart read Stuart.*

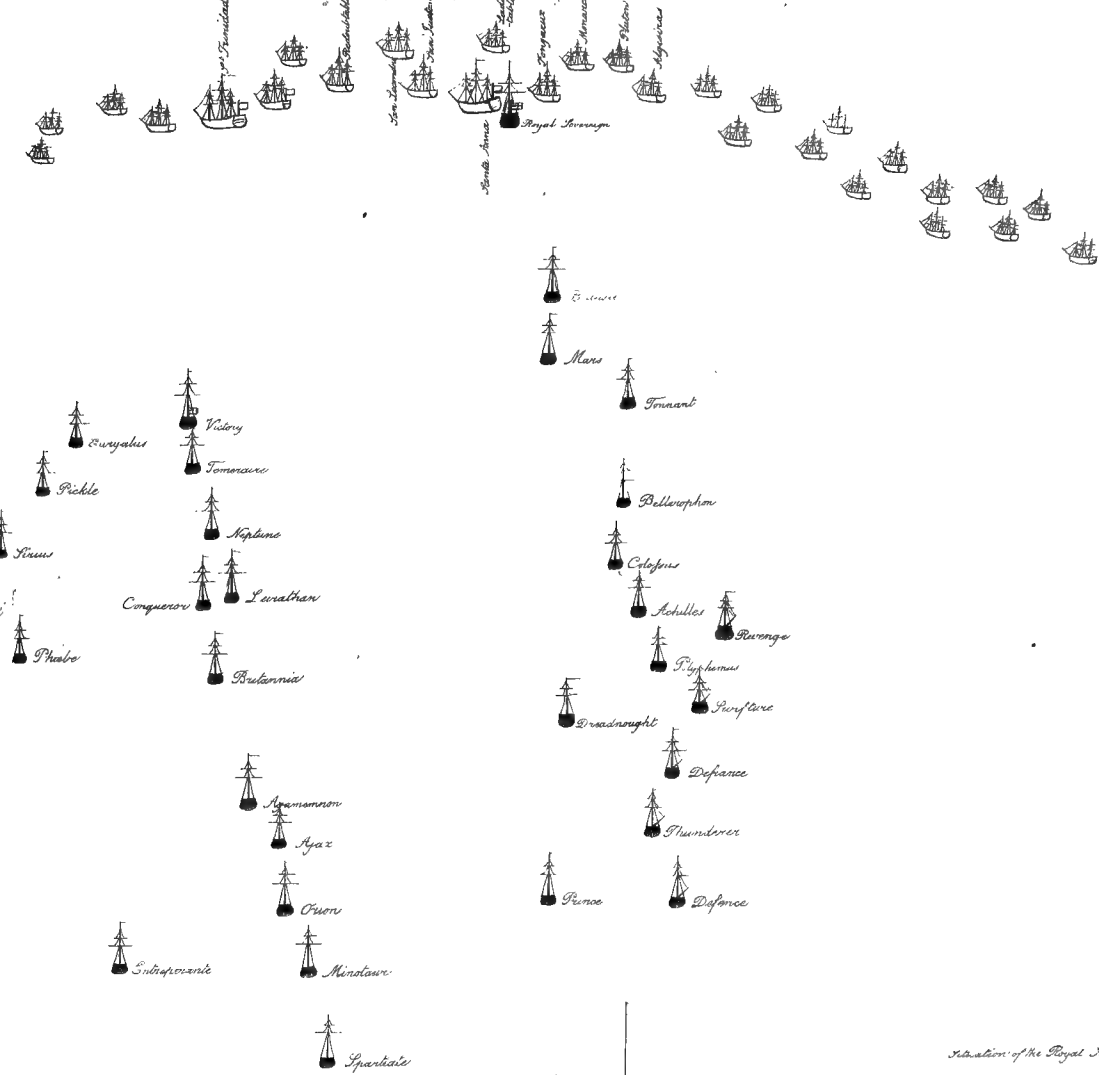
— 491, line 24, *for the read he.*



Situation of the Fleet in 1791



Plan of the Battle of Trafalgar at about Noon



Position of the Royal Sovereign is about 2 1/2 points from



This Plan is taken with a slight alteration from one Published in Mr James's Naval History. Lord Collingwood signaled the Revenge to alter her course to Starboard, so that she became the leading Ship of another Line, and got earlier into action than if she had followed on the Wake of the Royal Sovereign.

The Editor observes, that from Mr James's Book it appears that it was not the Tonnant which took the Tonnant, as stated in the Narrative, and he will add, that his Remarks on the Battle of Trafalgar were printed off some time before Mr James's death.



CORRESPONDENCE AND MEMOIR
OF
LORD COLLINGWOOD.

FEW persons are unacquainted with the part which Lord Collingwood bore in some of the most memorable naval triumphs of the last war; and among the members of his own profession, his almost unrivalled skill as a seaman, and his general talents for command, will long be remembered with admiration: but as he was a man of retired habits, and passed the greater part of his life at sea, the Public at large have not had sufficient means of appreciating the high qualities and attainments by which he was distinguished. It has, therefore, been deemed advisable to collect into the present volume some of his private Letters, and such parts of his public correspondence as have now become matters of history.

In the later years of the war, the glorious victories of the Army under their illustrious Commander, and the reduced state of the fleets of France, contributed to withdraw the public attention from the Navy: but it is still the favourite service of every Englishman; and we must ever regard it with delight and pride, not only as it is our invincible safeguard in war, but as it is the nurse of a class of men, who, whether as officers or seamen, display their habitual contempt of danger, and their manly, frank, and generous spirit in a manner the most marked and characteristic. It cannot, therefore, be uninteresting to have the oppor-

tunity of observing their conduct and sentiments, as well in the moments of victory, as in those more trying scenes of privation and fatigue to which, in the late war, they were exposed, to a degree till then unknown.

For a long period of our naval history, the large ships only kept the sea during the summer months, and returned into port at the commencement of the autumnal gales; and even as late as the middle of the last war, one of the most gallant and distinguished of the officers who are left to us, having been absent from port, as he told the Editor, for three months, was considered to have put the health and perseverance of his crew to a severe and unusual trial. But the length and hardship of Lord Collingwood's service are without any parallel. Of fifty years, during which he continued in the Navy, about forty-four were passed in active employment abroad: and in the eventful time, from 1793 till his death in 1810, he was only for one year in England, and for the remainder was principally engaged in tedious blockades, rarely visiting a port; and on one occasion actually kept the sea for the almost incredible space of twenty-two months, without once dropping his anchor. It was during this period that the majority of the Letters were written; and they display so much devotion to his Country, so high a tone of feeling on all occasions, and such proofs of the freshness and purity of his domestic affections, and of the tenderness with which his mind was perpetually turning towards that home which he was not destined to revisit, that (although they were only intended for the eyes of those to whom they were addressed, and do not appear to have been even read over for the correction of the clerical and other accidental inaccuracies which occur in hasty composition) the Editor has resolved to lay them before the Public, in the confident belief that few occasions will ever be found of presenting to the Navy, and the world at large, a more perfect example of an English Sailor.

Lord Collingwood's Family is of considerable distinction and antiquity in the county of Northumberland, having given to it knights and sheriffs during the last three centuries. It was connected by many honourable alliances; of which it is sufficient to mention the marriage, in 1627, of his great-great-grandfather, Ralph Collingwood, of East Ditchburne, with the niece of Anthony, Earl of Kent, the seventh in descent from Joan Plantagenet, the fair Maid of Kent, who was grand-daughter to King Edward the First, and wife, first to the Black Prince, and afterwards to Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent.*

His ancestors are said to have early distinguished themselves in the border wars, and at different times suffered greatly from the indulgence of their martial spirit. In 1585, one of them, Sir Cuthbert Collingwood, was, together with the lord warden, and other knights

* It is somewhat curious, and may throw a little doubt on the completer pedigrees of some families less distinguished than that of the Earls of Kent, that no record appears to have been made of the names of the sister, mother, or grandmother of Earl Anthony, although his great-grandmother was a daughter of an Earl of Pembroke, the next of an Earl of Northumberland, the next of the Duke of Exeter, the next of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and the next the fair Maid of Kent.

This descent, however, is proved by the following copy of an extract from the register of the parish of Eglingham, Northumberland, in which East Ditchburne is situated, transmitted to Mr. Forster, a relation of the Collingwood Family, by the Vicar, in a letter now in the Editor's possession:—

“ June 8th, 1686. Buried Mrs. Dorothy Collingwood, widow; mother of Mr. Cuthbert Collingwood, of Ditchburne. Her mother was one of the sisters of the Rev. and Right Hon. Anthony Grey, Clerk, Rector of Burbage, and Earle of Kent.

“ A true copy.”

(Witness)

“ CHARLES STODDART, Vicar.”

“ *Eglingham, March 12, 173 $\frac{6}{7}$.*”

and nobles, taken prisoner by the Scots, and is thus celebrated by a Scottish bard : —

“ But if ye wald a souldier search
 Among them a' were ta'en that night,
 What name sae wordie to put in verse,
 As Collingwood, that courteous knight ?”

His great-grandfather, Cuthbert Collingwood, of East Ditchburne, taking up arms for Charles the First, lost large estates in the county of Durham, from the confiscation of the prevailing party ; and in later times, the head of the Family, Mr. George Collingwood, of Eslington, led by the same attachment to the House of Stuart, and by the persuasion of the relations of his wife, a daughter of Lord Montague, engaged in the rebellion of 1715, and, being taken prisoner, was put to death, and his lands were forfeited to the crown.

“ Your account of Ralph of Ditchburne,” says Lord Collingwood in a letter to Sir Isaac Heard, Garter King at Arms, when writing on the subject of his Peerage, “ is, I believe, quite correct. That Ralph, I “ am led to think, was a collateral branch of the family of Eslington ; “ for I have heard from the Forsters, who knew more of the Family “ than any body, that when Eslington was forfeited to the crown, my “ grandfather was much blamed in the county for not endeavouring to “ get the estate transferred to him, which it was thought, on a proper “ application to the King, would have been done, as he was loyal, and “ the next male in succession to it.” From these and other circumstances, by which the principal remaining possessions of the Family had passed to a younger branch, Lord Collingwood's father found himself reduced to a very moderate fortune, with which he settled at Newcastle on Tyne ; and marrying Milcah, daughter and co-heir of Reginald Dobson,

of Barwess, in the county of Westmoreland, Esquire, had by her three sons and three daughters.

Cuthbert, the eldest son, was born on the 26th September, 1750, and was sent to a school in Newcastle, kept by the Rev. Hugh Moises; where he found, among other boys natives of the town, the two distinguished brothers, the present Lord Chancellor and Lord Stowell, one of whom still speaks of remembering Cuthbert Collingwood as a pretty and gentle boy. He was placed in the Navy when he was only eleven years old, under the care of Captain, afterwards Admiral Brathwaite, who had married his mother's sister. He used to tell, as an instance of his youth and simplicity when he first went to sea, that as he was sitting crying for his separation from home, the first Lieutenant observed him; and pitying the tender years of the poor child, spoke to him in terms of much encouragement and kindness, which, as Lord Collingwood said, so won upon his heart, that, taking this officer to his box, he offered him in gratitude a large piece of plum-cake which his mother had given him.

Of his earlier service, few records remain beyond the modest narrative which he communicated to the Editor of a naval publication, when the Victory of Trafalgar had rendered him the object of public attention.

SIR,

Queen, at Sea, January 7, 1806.

Although I have every desire to comply with your wishes, I find great difficulty in writing any thing about myself, that can be either very interesting or entertaining to the Public. My life has, indeed, been a continued service at sea; but unmarked by any of those extraordinary events, or brilliant scenes, which hold men up to

particular attention, and distinguish them from the number of officers who are zealous and anxious for the public good.

I went into the Navy at a very early period of my life, in the year 1761, in the Shannon, under the protection and care of a kind friend and relation, the late Admiral Brathwaite; to whose regard for me, and to the interest which he took in whatever related to my improvement in nautical knowledge, I owe great obligations. I served with him for many years, and afterwards with my friend, Admiral Roddam. In 1774 I went to Boston with Admiral Graves, and in 1775 was made a Lieutenant by him, on the day that the battle was fought at Bunker's Hill, where I was with a party of seamen supplying the army with what was necessary to them. In 1776 I went to Jamaica as Lieutenant of the Hornet sloop; and soon after, the Lowestoffe, of which Lord Nelson was Lieutenant, came to the same station. We had been long before in habits of great friendship; and it happened here, that as Admiral Sir P. Parker, the Commander-in-Chief, was the friend of both, whenever Lord Nelson got a step in rank, I succeeded him: first in the Lowestoffe, then in the Badger, into which ship I was made Commander in 1779, and afterwards in the Hinchinbroke, a 28-gun frigate, which made us both Post Captains. The Hinchinbroke was, in the spring of 1780, employed on an expedition to the Spanish main, where it was proposed to pass into the South Sea, by a navigation of boats along the river San Juan, and the lakes Nicaragua and Leon. The plan was formed without a sufficient knowledge of the country, which presented difficulties not to be surmounted by human skill or perseverance. It was dangerous to proceed on the river, from the rapidity of the current, and the numerous falls over rocks which intercepted the navigation; the climate too was deadly, and no constitution could resist its effects. At

San Juan I joined the *Hinchinbroke*, and succeeded Lord Nelson, who was promoted to a larger ship ; but he had received the infection of the climate before he went from the port, and had a fever, from which he could not recover until he quitted his ship and went to England. My constitution resisted many attacks, and I survived most of my ship's company, having buried in four months 180 of the 200 who composed it. Mine was not a singular case, for every ship that was long there suffered in the same degree. The transports' men all died ; and some of the ships, having none left to take care of them, sunk in the harbour : but transport-ships were not wanted, for the troops whom they had brought, were no more ; they had fallen, not by the hand of an enemy, but from the contagion of the climate. From this scene I was relieved in August 1780, and in the December following was appointed to the command of the *Pelican*, a small frigate of 24 guns. In August in the following year there was a severe hurricane, in which she was wrecked, being cast on the rocks of the Morant Keys in the middle of a most tremendous night. The next day, with great difficulty, the ship's company got on shore, on rafts made of the small and broken yards ; and upon those sandy islands, with little food, we remained ten days, until a boat went to Jamaica, and the *Diamond* frigate came and took us off.

The next ship I commanded was the *Sampson*, of 64 guns ; and when at the peace of 1783 she was paid off, I was appointed to the *Mediator*, and went to the West Indies, where, with Lord Nelson, who then commanded the *Boreas* on the same station, I remained until the latter end of 1786.

During this period, he and his brother, Captain Wilfred Collingwood, who commanded the *Rattler*, co-operated actively with Captain

Nelson in carrying into execution the provisions of the navigation laws, which had been violated by the citizens of the United States, who, notwithstanding their separation from this Country, continued to trade to the West Indian colonies, although by law that privilege was exclusively confined to British subjects. These officers accordingly seized all the vessels which they found engaged in this illicit traffic, in spite of the vigorous opposition of the English planters, who were interested in its continuance; and for the part which Captain Nelson took on this occasion, he was afterwards much harrassed by arrests and suits at law. As it is interesting to preserve the earlier records of the friendship which so long and so honourably subsisted between Lord Collingwood and him, some of his Letters on this subject are inserted here.

MY DEAR COLL.

Boreas, English Harbour, Sept. 28, 1785.

Although I am really half dead, yet I will not suffer Latona to sail without answering my good friend's letter, were it only to shew, that whatever civil prosecutions may be carried on against officers in the execution of their duty, ministers will afford them the protection they stand in need of: it is a great consolation to officers who mean to serve their Country faithfully. Wilfred left me a letter to send to Barbadoes, which he had better have kept, as I find he is gone there. I have had letters from Mr. Suckling, who belongs to the Custom House. He is a person who has been in that office since a boy, and is consulted in all doubtful cases relative to the Board. His letter is as follows:—I am sorry the conduct of some people where you are stationed should compel you to exercise that authority which the legislative power has so wisely reposed with the Navy for the protection of navigation. I have spoken to our solicitor in regard to

your proceedings : he is clearly of opinion you are warranted in your seizure of the ships; and he says you need not apprehend but that you will be effectually supported, and the business taken up very seriously, as soon as the Irish matters are settled. By this account, we know the mind they are of at home. I can't write more. Bless you. My head is so bad. Farewell.

HORATIO NELSON.

In a letter to Captain Locker, dated March, 1786, he says,—What an amiable good man Collingwood is; he is a valuable member of society. You accuse me too justly of not writing, but really for the last year I have been plagued to death. Had it not been for Collingwood this station would have been the most disagreeable I ever saw. It was near the hurricane months when I arrived in this country, consequently nothing could be done until they were over in November, when the squadron arrived at Barbadoes, and the ships were to be sent to the different islands, with only orders to examine the anchorages, and whether there was wood and water. This did not appear to me the intent of placing men-of-war on this station in peaceable times; therefore I asked Collingwood to go with me to the Admiral, for his sentiments and mine were exactly similar. I then asked him (Sir Richard Hughes), if we were not to attend to the commerce of our country, and to take care that the British trade was kept in those channels which the navigation laws pointed out. He answered, he had no orders, nor had the Admiralty sent him any Acts of Parliament. I told him it was very odd, as every Captain of a man-of-war was furnished with the statutes of the Admiralty, in which was the Navigation Act, which was directed to admirals, captains, &c., to see it carried into execution. He said he had never seen the book; but

having produced and read the laws to him, he seemed convinced that men-of-war were sent abroad for some other purpose than to be made a show of. He then gave orders to all the squadron to see the Navigation Act carried into execution. In December, to my astonishment, an order came from the Admiral, telling us he had received good advice, and requiring us not to hinder the Americans from coming in and having free egress and regress, if the Governor chose to allow them, and a copy was enclosed of the orders he had sent to the Governors and Presidents of the islands.

General Shirley and others began by sending letters, not far different from orders, that they should admit them in such and such situations, and telling me the Admiral had left it to them. Mr. — I soon trimmed up, and silenced. Sir Richard Hughes' was a more delicate business. I must either disobey my orders, or disobey Acts of Parliament; and I determined on the former, trusting to the uprightness of my intention, and that my Country would not allow me to be ruined by protecting her commerce. . . .

Captain Wilfred Collingwood was the principal director in this affair, which, as his brother was used to say, he understood much better than any of them. He was early lost to the service, and the account of his death was thus communicated by Captain Nelson :—

MY DEAR COLLINGWOOD,

Boreas, Nevis, May 3, 1787.

To be the messenger of bad news is my misfortune, but still it is a tribute which friends owe each other. I have lost my friend,—you an affectionate brother; too great a zeal in serving his Country hastened his end. The greatest consolation the survivor can receive, is a thorough knowledge of a life spent with

honour to himself, and of service to his Country. If the tribute of tears be valuable, my friend had it. The esteem he stood in with His Royal Highness* was great. His letter to me on his death is the strongest testimony of it. I send you an extract from it. ‘Collingwood, poor fellow, is no more. I have cried for him; and most sincerely do I condole with you on his loss. In him His Majesty has lost a faithful servant, and the service a most excellent officer.’—A testimony of regard so honourable is more to be coveted than any thing this world could have afforded, and must be a balm to his surviving friends. The Rattler had been refitting at English Harbour, and, when I arrived there in the middle of April, Wilfred was a little complaining, but I did not think at first any thing dangerous was to be apprehended. But in a few days I perceived he was in a rapid decline. Dr. Young told me to send him to sea, as the only chance. He sailed on the Tuesday for Grenada, where I was in hopes, could he have reached Mr. Hume’s, some fortunate circumstance might turn out; but it pleased God to order it otherwise. On Friday the 21st April, at ten at night, he left this life without a groan or struggle. The ship put into St. Vincent’s, where he was interred with all military honours; the regiment, president, and council, attending him to the grave. I mention this circumstance, to shew the respect for his character. It is a credit to the people of St. Vincent’s, which I did not think they would have deserved. Adieu, my good friend, and be assured I am, with the truest regard, your affectionate friend,

HORATIO NELSON.

It is not the intention of the Editor to make many observations upon this Correspondence, for he is satisfied that it can require no commentary of his; but he cannot refrain from calling the attention of

* The Duke of Clarence.

such younger officers of the Navy as may read these pages, to the following Letter, that they may see how early Lord Collingwood adopted, and how strongly he recommended to others, those high and honourable rules of conduct by which, without fortune or interest, he ultimately won his way to the highest rank and honours of his profession.

DEAR LANE,

London, Nov. 7, 1787.

It gives me great pleasure to find by your letter that your situation is agreeable to you, and I hope it will always be so. You may depend on it, that it is more in your own power than in any one else's to promote both your comfort and advancement. A strict and unwearied attention to your duty, and a complaisant and respectful behaviour, not only to your superiors, but to every body, will ensure you their regard, and the reward will surely come, and I hope soon, in the shape of preferment: but if it should not, I am sure you have too much good sense to let disappointment sour you. Guard carefully against letting discontent appear in you; it is sorrow to your friends, a triumph to your competitors, and cannot be productive of any good. Conduct yourself so as to deserve the best that can come to you; and the consciousness of your own proper behaviour will keep you in spirits, if it should not come. Let it be your ambition to be foremost on all duty. Do not be a nice observer of turns, but for ever present yourself ready for every thing, and if your officers are not very inattentive men, they will not allow the others to impose more duty on you than they should: but I never knew one who was exact not to do more than his share of duty, who would not neglect that, when he could do so without fear of punishment. I need not say more to you on the subject of sobriety, than to recommend to you the continuance of it as exactly as when you were with me. Every day affords you instances of the evils arising from drunkenness. Were

a man as wise as Solomon, and as brave as Achilles, he would still be unworthy of trust if he addicted himself to grog. He may make a drudge, but a respectable officer he can never be ; for the doubt must always remain, that the capacity which God has given him will be abused by intemperance. Young men are generally introduced to this vice by the company they keep : but do you carefully guard against ever submitting yourself to be the companion of low, vulgar, and dissipated men ; and hold it as a maxim, that you had better be alone than in mean company. Let your companions be such as yourself, or superior ; for the worth of a man will always be rated by that of his company. You do not find pigeons associate with hawks, or lambs with bears ; and it is as unnatural for a good man to be the companion of blackguards. Read—let me charge you to read. Study books that treat of your profession, and of history. Study Faulkner's Dictionary, and borrow, if you can, books which describe the West Indies, and compare what you find there with your own observation. Thus employed, you will always be in good company. Nature has sown in man the seeds of knowledge ; but they must be cultivated, to produce fruit. Wisdom does not come by instinct, but will be found when diligently sought for ; seek her, she will be a friend that will never fail you. You see I am writing to you as one very much interested for your welfare ; receive it as a proof that I shall always have pleasure in hearing of your success. Give my best respects to Captain Brown. I am infinitely obliged to him for the favour he did me in taking you ; and I hope you are shewing your gratitude to him by your best exertions. Remember, Lane, before you are five and twenty, you must establish a character that will serve you all your life. I hear Bennet, my dear boy Bennet, is with you at Jamaica : if he is, remember me kindly to him ; cultivate his friendship, for he is

a sensible and an honourable young man. I wish you good health ; and be assured of the regard of, my dear Lane, your sincere friend.

From 1786 to 1790, continues Lord Collingwood, in the narrative from which an extract has already been made, I was in Northumberland, making my acquaintance with my own family, to whom I had hitherto been, as it were, a stranger. In 1790, an armament was prepared against Spain, and I was appointed to the command of the *Mermaid*, and went to the West Indies with Admiral Cornish ; but affairs with Spain and Russia were accommodated, and, as I saw no prospect of my having any employment at sea, I went into the North, and was married.

The lady of his choice was Miss Sarah Blackett, daughter and co-heir of John Erasmus Blackett, Esq., of Newcastle (a younger brother of Sir Edward Blackett, Bart., of Newby Park, Yorkshire, and Matfen in Northumberland), and of his wife Sarah, daughter and co-heir of Robert Roddam, of Hethpoole, in Northumberland, Esq. To this excellent woman he continued for life most affectionately attached ; and by her had two daughters, Sarah, born in May, 1792 ; and Mary Patience, in 1793.

During this time occurs the following letter to Captain Nelson.

TO CAPTAIN NELSON.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Morpeth, Nov. 14, 1792.

I am much obliged to you for your letter, which I received last month ; it was particularly welcome to me, as it brought information of your and Mrs. Nelson's good health. You must not be displeased that I was so long without writing to you. I was very anxiously engaged a great part of the time, and perhaps

sometimes a little lazy ; but my regard for you, my dear Nelson, my respect and veneration for your character, I hope and believe will never be lessened. God knows when we may meet again, unless some chance should draw us to the sea-shore. I hope, however, to have long the happiness of hearing of your welfare. There are great commotions in our neighbourhood at present. The seamen at Shields have embarked themselves, to the number of 1200 or 1400, with a view to compel the owners of the coal-ships to advance their wages ; and, as is generally the case when they consider themselves the strongest party, their demand has been exorbitant. Application was made to Government for such assistance as the remedy of this evil might require.. They have sent the Drake and Martin sloops to join the Racehorse, which was here before, and some troops of dragoons, whose presence, I hope, will dispose the Johnnies to peace, without their having occasion to act. But the times are turbulent ; and the enthusiasm for liberty is raging even to madness. The success of the French people in establishing their republic has set the same principle, which lurked in every state of Europe, afloat ; and those who secreted it in their bosoms have now the boldness to avow a plan for adopting it in the government of this Country, and to recruit volunteers for carrying their purpose into execution. In this neighbourhood we seem to be pacific. Misery will undoubtedly be the consequence of any commotion or attempt to disturb our present most excellent Constitution. My wife joins me in best regards to you and Mrs. Nelson ; and pray, when you have leisure, let me hear from you. God bless you, and believe me, my dear Nelson, affectionately and faithfully yours.

I now thought, (to continue the extract from his narrative,) that I

was settling myself in great comfort; but I was mistaken; for in eighteen months the French war broke out, and in 1793 I was appointed Captain of the *Prince*, Rear-admiral Bowyer's flag-ship, and served with him until he was wounded in the action of the 1st of June, in the *Barfleur*.

TO J. E. BLACKETT, ESQ.

MY DEAR SIR,

Barfleur, at Sea, June 5, 1794.

When the Admiral's despatches came away, I was unable, from fatigue and hurry, to write more than a few lines to my wife, to tell her that I was well; but as no doubt you will be desirous to know the particulars of our success, I will first give you the outlines of our cruise previously to the 1st of June, and then all the satisfaction I can as to the proceedings of that day. It is a narration full of incident, and I feel myself very unequal to describe a battle unlike any thing that perhaps ever happened before, for we had three days' hard fighting before we were crowned with victory, by the total defeat and flight of a fleet superior to our own, and sent out for the express purpose of destroying us. Well, then, after seeing the convoys down the Channel as far as the *Lizard*, and detaching Rear-admiral Montague, with six sail of the line, for their further protection, we stretched across the Channel to Brest, and sent in two frigates, covered by two ships of the line, to see what force was there; when they found the French fleet at anchor, and counted twenty-four sail of large ships. Unsettled weather, and the wind hanging to the north-eastward, set us to the southward, so that it was fourteen days before we got off Brest again, and then found that the enemy's fleet was gone. How the Admiral got his intelligence I do not know, but he did get a very exact account of their route; for we immediately

made all the sail we could for 150 leagues to the westward, retaking about fifteen English merchant vessels, some Dutch, and a few French cruisers, in our way; all of which were immediately burnt, as it was impossible, under the circumstances in which we were, to spare a man, or to be encumbered with prizes. In that situation, we cruised for a few days, like disappointed people looking for what they could not find, until the morning of little Sarah's birth-day, between eight and nine o'clock, when the French fleet of twenty-five sail of the line, was discovered to windward. We chased them, and they bore down within about five miles of us. Admiral Paisley commanded the advanced squadron of four sail, viz. Bellerophon, Russel, Marlborough, and Thunderer. They were much nearer; and about three o'clock they began to exchange fire with the enemy's rear, which increased as they advanced, and continued very hot until nine at night, when the detached ships joined the fleet. On the 29th, the French fleet was to windward about three miles, and, as it shewed no disposition to come down, we tacked about six in the morning, in hopes our van would bring their rear to close action; but they only fetched within a long shot, which the French kept up pretty smartly. About eight, they wore, which again brought them in a line parallel to us, and their van continued a sharp cannonade on ours for two hours or more; when the Admiral, finding there was no chance of bringing them to close action but by a dash, made a signal for the van to tack, and the rest in succession to follow them; and we then led in amongst them in a very fine style. Admiral Gardner led the fleet, and suffered a good deal, but we cut up their rear effectually. They skilfully enough covered their disabled ships, and made an assault on our's (the Queen and Invincible); but Admiral Graves, in the Royal Sovereign, and ourselves, stood between them, and had very smart work,

for an hour and a half, with one of their first-rates, and two 74-gun ships, when they all bore away. On the 30th, we first saw them far to leeward, but it was foggy and bad weather, so thick that we could scarce see the length of the ship until the 31st, in the afternoon, when it cleared, and we observed the enemy to leeward forming their line. We bore down to them, and formed ours, which took us all the evening. The night was spent in watching and preparation for the succeeding day; and many a blessing did I send forth to my Sarah, lest I should never bless her more. At dawn, we made our approach on the enemy, then drew up, dressed our ranks, and it was about eight when the Admiral made the signal for each ship to engage her opponent, and bring her to close action, and then down we went under a crowd of sail, and in a manner that would have animated the coldest heart, and struck terror into the most intrepid enemy. The ship we were to engage was two a-head of the French Admiral, so that we had to go through his fire and that of two ships next him, and received all their broadsides two or three times before we fired a gun. It was then near ten o'clock. I observed to the Admiral, that about that time our wives were going to church, but that I thought the peal we should ring about the Frenchmen's ears would outdo their parish bells. Lord Howe began his fire sometime before we did; and he is not in the habit of firing soon. We got very near indeed, and then began such a fire as would have done you good to have heard. During the whole action the most exact order was preserved, and no accident happened but what was inevitable, and the consequence of the enemy's shot. In ten minutes the Admiral was wounded; I caught him in my arms before he fell: the First Lieutenant was slightly wounded by the same shot, and I thought I was in a fair way of being left on deck by myself; but the Lieutenant got his head dressed, and came up

again. Soon after, they called from the fore-castle that the Frenchman was sinking; at which the men started up and gave three cheers. I saw the French ship dismasted, and on her broadside, but in an instant she was clouded with smoke, and I do not know whether she sunk or not. All the ships in our neighbourhood were dismasted, and are taken, except the French Admiral, who was driven out of the line by Lord Howe, and saved himself by flight. At about twenty minutes past twelve, the fire slackened, the French fled, and left us seven of their fine ships — Sans Pareil, 84; Juste, 84; L'Achille, 74; Northumberland, 74; L'Amérique, 80; and Le Vengeur, 74, which last sunk the same evening; so that you see we have had as complete a victory as could be won. Our condition did not admit of a further pursuit; indeed, to take possession of what we had got required exertion. Two of our ships were totally dismasted, and many of us very much crippled. We left off in admirable good plight, having sustained less loss than could be expected, considering the fire we had so long on us. We had nine men killed, and twenty-two with severe wounds, a few others slightly hurt; our masts, &c. all in their places, though much wounded. We have not obtained this victory without losses that must long be lamented. Admiral Bowyer and Admiral Paisley have each lost a leg; Admiral Graves is severely wounded in the arm, and as he is seventy years of age, or nearly, it is hard to say what will be the consequence. Captain Montague was killed; and Captain Hutt, of the Queen, lost his leg. Several Lieutenants are killed and wounded: and this, altogether, has been the severest action that has been fought in our time, or perhaps ever. It did not last very severely much more than two hours, when ten of the enemy's ships were dismasted, and two of ours. They were

superior to us in ships, men, and guns, sent out for the express purpose of destroying us. Four of their ships were provided with furnaces for red-hot shot, one of which stuck in the Royal Sovereign, but I have not heard that they did any mischief in any part of the fleet by them. We understand their orders were to give no quarter; and, indeed, they fought as if they expected none.

June 13. We are just arrived at Spithead. A thousand blessings on you all.

I am ever, my dear Sir, your truly affectionate Son.

In a more minute account of this action, which is in the Editor's possession, Captain Collingwood says: "Observing the ship opposed to us in the enemy's line to be much crippled in her masts and rigging, and the Invincible having been severely engaged, we made the signal to change places with her, that she might take the crippled ship, and we might have a fresh one. The Invincible stuck as close to us in going down, and during the whole action, as if she had been lashed to us, sometimes having her jib-boom over our taffrail."

In the capricious distribution of rewards which followed on that day, Captain Collingwood found, with extreme mortification and concern, that his services were passed over by Lord Howe without notice, though the Rear-admiral with whom he sailed was mentioned with well-merited praise; and it was not till 1797 that he received one of the medals which were given on occasion of the victory of the 1st of June. This act of injustice created much surprise in the fleet, and particularly in Captain Pakenham of the Invincible, who used to say, "If Collingwood has not deserved a medal, neither have I; for we were together the whole day." That his gallantry, however,

was justly appreciated by those who had the best opportunities of observing it, is manifested by the following letter from Sir George Bowyer to Admiral Roddam.

MY DEAR SIR,

Cowes, October 11, 1794.

I write you this letter, that I may not lose the satisfaction I always feel in doing justice to the merit of a friend of yours, which I hardly do, in saying that I do not know a more brave, capable, or a better officer, in all respects, than Captain Collingwood. I think him a very fine character; and I told Lord Chatham, when he was at Portsmouth, that if ever he had to look for a first Captain to a Commander-in-chief, I hoped he would remember that I pledged myself he would not find a better than our friend Collingwood.

Yours, &c.

GEORGE BOWYER.

From the *Barfleur*, Captain Collingwood removed into the *Hector*, and afterwards into the *Excellent*, in which he went to the Mediterranean.

FROM CAPTAIN NELSON.

MY DEAR COLL.

Vado Bay, August 31, 1795.

I cannot allow a ship to leave me without a line for my old friend, whom I shall rejoice to see; but I am afraid the Admiral will not give me that pleasure at present. You are so old a Mediterranean man, that I can tell you nothing new about the country. My command here is so far pleasant as it relieves me from the inactivity of our fleet, which is great indeed, as you will soon see. From the event of Spain making peace with France, more may be

looked for, perhaps a war with that country: if so, their fleet (if no better than when our allies) will soon be done for. Reports here say, they mean to protect Genoese and other vessels from search by our cruisers in the Gulf of Genoa. If so, the matter will soon be brought to an issue; for I have given positive directions to search such vessels, denying the right of the Spaniards to dictate to us what ships we shall or shall not search. The Genoese are going to carry a convoy with provisions to their towns on the Rivièra of Genoa, in possession of the French army. However cruel it may appear to deprive poor innocent people of provisions, yet policy will not allow them to be sent: for if the inhabitants have plenty, so will the enemy, and therefore I have directed them to be brought into Vado. So far have I gone; and trust I have acted, and shall act, so as to merit approbation. Our Admiral has no political courage, and is alarmed at the mention of any strong measure; but, in other respects, he is as good a man as can possibly be.

Believe me ever, my dear Collingwood,

Your affectionate Friend,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO. J. E. BLACKETT, ESQ.

Excellent—Ajaccio, Corsica, March 14th, 1796.

I wrote to Sarah a few days before we left Leghorn, when we sailed to Toulon, and counted the French fleet, seventeen sail of the line, most of them apparently ready for sea; but we understand that they are internally very unfit, and want both men and provisions. On the night of the 27th of February, in a squall, when it was very dark and rainy, the Princess Royal ran on board

of us. I was on deck, and luckily saw her coming right on us time enough to sheer off a little, or she would probably have cut us down to the water's edge: as it was, she carried away the bowsprit and foremast, and left us a complete wreck. It was fortunate that we got clear so soon; for there was sea enough to thump our sides in. We had scarce cleared ourselves of the wreck of our masts, before a hard gale of wind came on at S.E., setting us into the Gulf of Lyons on a lee shore. The fleet kept company with us as long as it was safe for them to do so, and then left a frigate to attend us. After many attempts to get her head round, we at last accomplished it, and the following day (1st March) got up jury masts, and made for this port; but had another violent gale, in which we were in imminent danger of losing all the masts that remained. We got in on the 3d; and since that time, my cares and anxiety to get ready have really been very painful to me.

I have been forty-eight hours on deck, and scarce sat in that time to eat. I am not much the fatter for it, nor a bit the worse, thanks to a good hard constitution. I have now replaced my lost masts, and hope to be again ready for sea in about a week. This part of Corsica is still more barbarous than San Fiorenzo: the least offence offered to one of the inhabitants is resented by a stab, or a shot from behind a wall. Yesterday one of them stabbed another in the public square, and walked away, wiping his dagger, while no one attempted to stop him, or seemed to think it a violent measure, concluding, I suppose, that he had a good reason for what he did. Some bad carpenters were discharged from the yard on Saturday, because they were not wanted, and on Sunday morning they took a shot at Commissioner Coffin, as he walked in his garden, but missed him.

FROM CAPTAIN NELSON.

MY DEAR COLL.

Captain—Leghorn Roads, August 1, 1796.

The Viceroy tells me you are at Fiorenzo ; therefore I take my chance of this finding you. My date makes me think I am almost at Leghorn ; soon I hope to be there in reality. Except 1700 poor devils, all are gone to join the army. Sometimes I hope, at others despair of getting these starved Leghornese to cut the throats of this French crew. What an idea for a Christian ! I hope there is a great latitude for us in the next world.—This blockade is complete, and we lie very snug in the North Road, as smooth as in a harbour. I have this moment received information that the post from Naples, which arrived to-day, has brought accounts that the truce with Naples finishes, and hostilities commence to-morrow. Pray God it may be so ! With a most sincere wish for driving the French to the devil, your good health, an honourable peace, us safe at home again, I conclude by assuring you, my dear Collingwood, of my unalterable friendship and regard, and that I am, in the fullest meaning of the words,

Yours most truly,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO J. E. BLACKETT, ESQ.

Excellent, off Toulon, May 11, 1796.

We have been cruising here this month past, and unless events should make it necessary to change our system, shall probably be here a great part of the summer. It is but dull work, lying off the enemy's port : they cannot move a ship without our seeing them, which must be very mortifying to them ; but we have the mortification also to see their merchant-vessels going along shore, and

cannot molest them. It is not a service on which we shall get fat; and often do I wish we had some of those bad potatoes which old Scott and William used to throw over the wall of the garden, for we feel the want of vegetables more than any thing.

The accounts I receive of my dear girls give me infinite pleasure. How happy I shall be to see them again! but God knows when the blessed day will come in which we shall be again restored to the comforts of domestic life; for here, so far from any prospect of peace, the plot seems to thicken, as if the most serious part of the war were but beginning. The successes of the French army against the Austrians have been quite miraculous.—Marshal Beaulieu is reckoned a good officer, and has the experience of seventy-two years, without their infirmities; yet the Austrians have failed every where, and are now totally driven out of the Riviera of Genoa. His army is now at Valenza on the Po, where he has a bridge by which to retire into the Milanese. The French possess all the towns in the neighbourhood of Genoa; and, in short, almost every impediment to their marching into the Southern States of Italy is removed. The Sardinians are worn out, and sue for peace, the preliminaries of which are settled. Thus drop off our allies. The Neapolitans, I think, will very soon follow the same plan: their three ships, which were attached to our fleet, have for some time left us, and I have little expectation of their returning to us. If the French march on into the South of Italy, what can the Neapolitans do but make peace before they come? The Spaniards are making great preparations for war; perhaps they made their own peace with a condition that they should declare against us whenever the state of France required it, and the Republic demanded their aid. If so, it was a disgraceful condition, shewing what is the true value of political alliances, and how long solemn treaties retain their solemnity. If these

events, which are probable, mature, I do not know how we shall carry on the war single-handed in this country; not because the force opposed to us will be very much increased, but because all our supplies will be precarious. We have hitherto had free access to all the Italian ports, and the supplies from them have conduced very much to the health and strength of our fleet: it will be another affair, if we are cut off from the flesh kettles of Leghorn. Corsica produces nothing but wild hogs, and we have made them dear. If we are obliged to abandon it, none will lament the loss except those who have good appointments there. It is maintained at an immense expense, and it is ridiculous that it should be; for I think neither the people nor the country capable of being improved, nor does all the money that is lavished there give us any influence. Paoli, in England, could stir the whole country to revolt and rebellion, by expressing his wish that it should be so on a quarter of a sheet of paper. He was bred in the Jesuits' College, at Naples, and is an artful man, whose whole life has been a continued scene of intrigue: he does not profess arms, and I heard at Ajaccio, from some Corsicans, that he was never in a field of battle. — So much for my politics. Whatever happens, we shall make the best of it; for we have now activity in the fleet, and seem to act upon a settled plan. Formerly all the good or ill that happened was by chance, and there seemed no forethought to secure the one, or prevent the other.

I am very thankful to you, my dear Sir, for all your kindness to me, to Sarah, and my darling girls. They do not know the want of a father's care while your protection is over them; and I hope they will live to tell you of their gratitude when they can reason on your goodness themselves.

The tumultuous associations and clubs in England, and the license they have taken in their acts and publications, afflict me. Some

attach themselves to violent parties from an unhappy disposition, delighting in whatever is turbulent, some from fashion, and very many from folly, being entirely incapable of judging of the propriety of the measures which they censure.

TO THE SAME.

Excellent, still off Toulon, September 25, 1796.

The kindness of Sir Edward and Lady Blakett to my children is such a proof of their love and regard for my dear Sarah, and, I hope, of their esteem for me, that I never think of it but with a satisfaction that goes to my heart. In this long cruise, now twenty-four weeks before Toulon, we want something to comfort us, and to make us amends for brown shirts and scanty dinners. While Leghorn and Genoa were open to us, we were well and plentifully supplied, but the French have now shut those ports against us; and though our Admiral is an excellent provider, and spares no pains on that head, I am afraid it will not be possible to get the supplies which are essentially necessary to the health of the fleet. The moment there is a failure in that, we cannot stay here; for the French are equal to us in ships. Miserable Corsica produces nothing but rebels and officers: viceroys, secretaries of state, and governors, we have in plenty, and the military establishment, till lately, was excessive even to a farce. In return for all this, we get wood and water. The favourable reports which have been made of this island are shameful falsehoods, and shew how blind people are to the truth, when it interferes with their interests, or checks their vanity.

I am told the French party wear the tricoloured cockade, and there is no power in the English Government to prevent it. All our naval stores are embarked in ships, because the people are so hostile to us

that they can no longer be left with safety on shore. The sums of money which have been squandered amongst them are immense: the embassy to Algiers and ransom of some Corsicans cost about 60,000*l.*, and the rebellion about the taxes, 70 or 80,000*l.* more. I heartily wish that the time of our leaving it were come. They are collecting all the Austrian deserters and prisoners at Genoa to add to their army; but we stop the ships that carry them, take them out as subjects of our ally the Emperor, and make sailors of them: so that, in my ship's company, I have some of all the States in Germany, — Austrians, Poles, Croats, and Hungarians—a motley tribe! We are remarkably healthy; and the ships were never more fit for service, as the French and Spaniards will experience, if they venture out. Sir John Jervis is indefatigable in keeping this station, and while we keep it, the Mediterranean is a sea only for our friends: yet I fear our friends will have nothing to do here soon; and if the war goes on, I have no doubt that the French will assault the coasts of England, and we shall be wanted nearer home. I have heard of ——'s dishonest trick. Poor fool! not to know how much respect is due to a virtuous man, though poor, and how much contempt to a wealthy knave.

TO THE SAME.

Excellent, Gibraltar, December 5, 1796.

Our situation has been rather critical; — the forces of France and Spain are very superior to ours, and after the evacuation of Corsica, we were left without a port, except Porto Ferraio, which was, of all places in the world, the most dangerous for us to be in. Few as we were, I think we could have managed them at sea well enough; but had they ever blocked us up in Porto Ferraio, our ruin, as it appears to me, would have been inevitable. But Sir John

Jervis has excellent judgment at this game, and I never had an apprehension that he would offer them a check-mate, which such a move would have been if they had skill to take it. For a fortnight after the island was completely in the possession of the French, we waited in St. Fiorenzo Bay, with the utmost impatience, for Admiral Mann, whose junction at one time seemed to be absolutely necessary to our safety. We wore our eyes in looking westward from the mountain-tops, but we looked in vain. The Spanish fleet, nearly double our numbers, were cruising almost in view, and our reconnoitring frigates sometimes got amongst them, while we expected them hourly to be joined by the French, who had already possession of the harbour in which we lay. But no Mann appeared; and as the enemy began to annoy us from the shore, we sailed on the 2d of November. We arrived here on the 1st instant, and judge of our surprise to find that Admiral Mann and his squadron had gone off to England. He is well known to be as brave a man as any in the world, and no one has more anxiety to do what is right. I am confident he always means the best; but the thing is incomprehensible, and God knows by what arguments he will justify it. The elements befriended us, for two or three gales of wind sickened and dispersed the Spaniards, and we had a long passage down here quite unmolested. We hear a great deal of a promotion in the Navy, but I confess I have no anxiety about being an Admiral till the war is over. It would be impossible for me to get employed, and I should be very sorry to be idle at such a time as this.

TO MRS. COLLINGWOOD.

MY DEAREST SARAH,

Excellent, off Lagos, February 17, 1797.

I am sure you will be glad to hear from me after such a day as we have had on the 14th (Valentine's day). It

was indeed a glorious one, and it seldom falls to the lot of any man to share in such a triumph. First, my love, I am as well as I ever was in my life, and have now pretty well got the better of my fatigue. Now for history. We were cruising at sea, off Cape St. Vincent, with fifteen sail of the line, when the Admiral first received information that the Spanish fleet, twenty-eight sail of the line, were come down the Mediterranean; and a day or two afterwards that twenty-seven sail were in our neighbourhood, one being left at Gibraltar with ten or twelve frigates, making in all thirty-eight or forty sail. We were fifteen, and four frigates. He determined to attack them. On the night of the 13th, the weather being fine, but thick and hazy, we heard their signal-guns, which announced their vicinity, and soon after day-light we saw them very much scattered, while we were a compact little body. We flew to them as a hawk to his prey, passed through them in the disordered state in which they were, separated them into two distinct parts, and then tacked upon their largest division. The Culloden and Captain, Commodore Nelson's ship, were the first that brought them to close action. I by chance became the Admiral's leader (for the circumstances were such as would admit of no regular order), and had the good fortune to get very early into action. The first ship we engaged was the San Salvador del Mondo, of 112 guns, a first rate; we were not farther from her when we began than the length of our garden. Her colours soon came down, and her fire ceased. I hailed, and asked if they surrendered; and when by signs made by a man who stood by the colours, I understood that they had, I left her to be taken possession of by somebody behind, and made sail for the next, but was very much surprised on looking back to find her colours up again, and her battle recommenced. We very soon came up with the next, the San Isidro, 74, so close alongside, that a man might jump from one ship to the other. Our fire carried all before it;

and in ten minutes she hauled down her colours ; but I had been deceived once, and obliged this fellow to hoist English colours before I left him, and made a signal for somebody behind to board him, when the Admiral ordered the Lively frigate to take charge of him. Then making all sail, passing between our line and the enemy, we came up with the San Nicholas, of 80 guns, which happened at the time to be abreast of the San Joseph, of 112 guns ; we did not touch sides, but you could not put a bodkin between us, so that our shot passed through both ships, and, in attempting to extricate themselves, they got on board each other. My good friend, the Commodore, had been long engaged with those ships, and I came happily to his relief, for he was dreadfully mauled. Having engaged them until their fire ceased on me, though their colours were not down, I went on to the Santissima Trinidad, the Spanish Admiral Cordova's ship, of 132 guns, on four complete decks—such a ship as I never saw before. By this time, our masts, sails, and rigging, were so much shot, that we could not get so near her as I would have been ; but near enough to receive much injury from her, both in my men and ship. We were engaged an hour with this ship, and trimmed her well ; she was a complete wreck. Several others of our ships came up, and engaged her at the same time ; but evening approaching, and the fresh Spaniards coming down upon us, the Admiral made the signal to withdraw, carrying off the four ships that had surrendered to our fleet.

The ships longest and most engaged were, Culloden, Captain Troubridge ; Captain, Commodore Nelson ; the Blenheim, Captain Frederick ; and Prince George, Rear-admiral W. Parker and Captain Irwin. I had eleven men killed, and many wounded :—every body did well. I am persuaded there will be no complaints of this little fleet ; and when the disparity of force is considered, the taking

two first-rates, with two flag-officers, is a new thing. I have got a Spanish double-headed shot fired from the Santissima Trinidad, which I intend as a present to your father, to put amongst his curiosities: it weighs 50 lbs. These are no jokes, when they fly about one's head. God bless you! my dearest love; may you ever be happy!

TO J. E. BLACKETT, ESQ.

Excellent, Lagos, February 22, 1797.

I wrote to Sarah the day after the action with the Spaniards, but I am afraid I gave her but an imperfect account of it. It is a very difficult thing for those engaged in such a scene to give the detail of the whole, because all the powers they have are occupied in their own part of it. As to myself, I did my duty to the utmost of my ability, as I have ever done: that is acknowledged now, and there is the only real difference between this and the former action. Take it altogether, it is perhaps the most brilliant action upon record; and I cannot help feeling an almost spiteful satisfaction that Lord Howe is outdone. His 1st of June (grand as it was) bears no proportion, in any respect, to this. There, the number of ships was nearly equal; here, the enemy were nearly double—28 guns more would have made them double our force: there, they had only two 3-deckers, and we had eight or nine; here, the enemy had six 3-deckers, and one (the Santissima Trinidad) of 4 decks, while we had only two first-rates, and four 90-gun ships, and of our fifteen ships, one was a little 64, the Diadem. I am sure you will admire the fortitude and magnanimity of Sir John Jervis, in determining to attack so superior a force; but should not we be grateful to him,

who had such confidence in his fleet, that he thought no force too great for them. Though the different ships were very differently circumstanced, and bore unequal shares in the action, all have the merit of having done their utmost. After I had driven the San Nicholas on board the Josef, and left them, on their fire ceasing, to be taken possession of by somebody behind, they fell on board my good friend the Commodore; and as they had not surrendered, he, in his own active person, at the head of his ship's company, boarded them, and drove the Spaniards from deck to deck at the point of their swords. They at last both surrendered; and the Commodore, on the quarter-deck of a Spanish first-rate, San Josef, received the submission and the swords of the officers of the two ships, while one of his sailors bundled them up with as much composure as he would have made a faggot, though twenty-two sail of their line were still within gun-shot. We have had the Spanish fleet off here to look at us since we came in; but I dare say they would rather see us at a distance than near. Santissima Trinidad is still at sea, pestered by some of our frigates. God knows what will become of her! She would fall easily; but we cannot separate in quest of her. One of the great pleasures I have received from this glorious event is, that I expect it will enable me to provide handsomely for those who serve me well. Give my love to my wife, and blessing to my children. What a day it will be to me when I meet them again! The Spaniards always carry their patron saint to sea with them, and I have given St. Isidro a birth in my cabin: it was the least I could do for him, after he had consigned his charge to me. It is a good picture, as you will see when he goes to Morpeth.

On the occasion of this great victory, Captain Collingwood had the

happiness to find himself rewarded by the praises and admiration of the whole fleet. "The correct conduct of every officer and man in the squadron, on the 14th inst.," says Lord St. Vincent, when writing privately to Lord Spencer, "made it improper to distinguish one more than another in my public letter; because I am confident, that had those who were least in action been in the situation of the fortunate few, their behaviour would not have been less meritorious. Yet to your Lordship it becomes me to state, that Captain Trowbridge, in the Culloden, led the squadron through the enemy in a masterly style, and was gallantly supported by the Blenheim, Prince George, Orion, Irresistible, and Colossus. Commodore Nelson, who was in the rear, on the starboard tack, took the lead on the larboard, and contributed very much to the fortune of the day, as did Captain Collingwood."

The account which Nelson gave of the conduct of his friend, in a narrative which he sent to the Duke of Clarence, is highly animated and characteristic:—

"The Salvador del Mundo and San Isidro dropped astern, and were fired into in a masterly style by the Excellent, who compelled the San Isidro to hoist English colours, and I thought the large ship Salvador del Mundo had also struck; but Captain Collingwood disdaining the parade of taking possession of beaten enemies, most gallantly pushed up, with every sail set, to save his old friend and messmate, who was to all appearance in a critical situation, the Captain being actually fired upon by three first-rates and the San Nicholas, the seventy-four within about pistol-shot distance of the San Nicholas. The Blenheim being a-head, and the Culloden crippled and astern, the Excellent ranged up, and hauling up her mainsail just astern, passed within ten feet of the San Nicholas,

“ giving her a most awful and tremendous fire. The San Nicholas luffing up, the San Josef fell aboard of her, and the Excellent passed on to the Santissima Trinidad.”

This immense ship, with which Nelson had been much engaged during the course of his wonderful achievements on that day, would, according to the opinion of many in the fleet, have been compelled to surrender, if another English vessel had not, in the confusion of the fight, been placed in such a position as to fire over the Excellent, and impede her attack.

The following letters passed between the two friends on the succeeding day, and that of Nelson speaks strongly the same language as his narrative.

MY DEAREST FRIEND,

Irresistible, February 15th, 1797.

“ A friend in need, is a friend indeed,” was never more truly verified than by your most noble and gallant conduct yesterday in sparing the Captain from further loss ; and I beg, both as a public officer and a friend, you will accept my most sincere thanks. I have not failed, by letter to the Admiral, to represent the eminent services of the Excellent. Tell me how you are ; what are your disasters. I cannot tell you much of the Captain’s, except by note of Captain Miller, at two this morning, about sixty killed and wounded.

We shall meet at Lagos ; but I could not come near you without assuring you how sensible I am of your assistance in nearly a critical situation.

Believe me as ever your most affectionate

HORATIO NELSON.

TO COMMODORE NELSON.

MY DEAR GOOD FRIEND,

Excellent, February 15th, 1797.

First let me congratulate you on the success of yesterday,—on the brilliancy it attached to the British Navy, and the humility it must cause to its enemies,—and then let me congratulate my dear Commodore on the distinguished part which he ever takes when the honour and interests of his Country are at stake. It added very much to the satisfaction which I felt in thumping the Spaniards, that I released you a little. The highest rewards are due to you and Culloden: you formed the plan of attack,—we were only accessories to the Don's ruin; for, had they got on the other tack, they would have been sooner joined, and the business would have been less complete. We have come off pretty well considering: eleven killed, and fourteen wounded. You saw the 4-decker going off this morning to Cadiz,—she should have come to Lagos to make the thing better, but we could not brace our yards up to get nearer.—I beg my compliments to Captain Martin: I think he was at Jamaica when we were.

I am ever, my dear friend,

Affectionately yours,

C. COLLINGWOOD.

Among the encomiums that were bestowed upon him from all quarters, the following letters from two other valued friends are too flattering to be omitted:—

MY DEAR SIR,

Barfleur, February 15th.

I have just time to request you will accept of my congratulations upon the immortal honour gained by the Excellent yesterday. The Admiral joins very sincerely in my ideas. God bless you, and may we all imitate you.

Yours ever sincerely,

J. W. DACRES.

FROM THE HONOURABLE ADMIRAL WALDEGRAVE.

MY DEAR COLLINGWOOD,

Barfleur, February 15th.

Although Dacres has in great degree expressed all I feel on the subject, yet I cannot resist the satisfaction of telling you myself, that nothing, in my opinion, could exceed the spirit and true officership which you so happily displayed yesterday. Both the Admiral and Nelson join with me in this opinion; and nothing but ignorance can think otherwise. God bless you, my good friend; and may England long possess such men as yourself:—it is saying every thing for her glory.

Truly yours,

WILLIAM WALDEGRAVE.

TO J. E. BLACKETT, ESQ.

Excellent, off Cadiz, April 18th, 1797.

We are not contented with having beat the Spaniards at sea, but have now blocked up their port, and are parading under the walls of Cadiz, as we did last year before Toulon. We have nineteen sail of the line, for Admiral Nelson is gone, with three ships, on some detached service. The Spaniards have thirty-two sail of great ships ready, or nearly so,—enough to devour us, if they

knew but how to carve. We heard that their seamen were offered double pay if they would exert themselves against us, which they decline, as a hopeless undertaking, and have refused to come to sea: but I think they must come, or Spain is lost as a maritime power.

TO THE SAME.

Excellent, off Cadiz, May 22d, 1797.

I should have written to my dear Sarah on this her birthday; but as I wrote to her very lately, and have not yet thanked you for your kind letter, I shall send my congratulations and blessing to her, on this occasion, through you. Tell her, then, how sincerely, how constantly, I pray to Heaven that she may see many happy returns of this day,—that she may long live a source of joy to her husband, a blessing to her family, and an example of worth and goodness to all her sex. With the affection of such a wife, and the esteem and regard of her good and respectable family, I feel that I have nothing to ask to increase my happiness, but to see my country composed in peace. That will indeed be a happy day; and the events that have occurred at Portsmouth make the necessity of it very pressing. They have given the greatest uneasiness to my mind, particularly as I think I can discover that the advance of pay, and other advantages which have been conceded to the Navy, are not received as acts of favour, but as rights extorted from Government; and instead of reposing in thankfulness for these benefits, they seem to be occupied, having felt their power, in considering what next may be demanded. The times are convulsed and full of danger: peace alone can restore us to harmony. Heaven grant it!

Here we are, lying at anchor before the port of Cadiz. The Spaniards shew no disposition to come out, and we allow no ships

to go in. They have a great fleet of about thirty sail of the line, which seem to be completely equipped; but the fishermen who come on board to sell their fish say, they are in daily expectation of peace.

I have had a most delightful letter from Dr. Carlyle. How it gladdens my heart to find that every body seems so pleased with us. A fight is well worth the pains that gives such general satisfaction, and is the cause of so many civil things being said to us. We have almost daily correspondence with the Spaniards by letter, and ours is a curious situation: the Spanish officers, who come with the flag of truce, dine with the Commander of the advanced squadron; and they invited the Spanish ladies to a ball, but they did not come. I am sorry to see in the newspapers some reflections on Captain Berkeley, of the Emerald. I do not believe the Trinidad was ever in so bad a condition as to submit to frigates, though she might have been taken by a line-of-battle ship. It is blaming him on a subject merely conjectural. His losing sight of her was the consequence of bad weather, and I think he is very unfairly censured. You will be glad to hear that the King ordered the medal of the 1st of June to be sent to me, with that for February, in spite of Lord Howe.

When Lord St. Vincent informed Captain Collingwood that he was to receive one of the medals which were distributed on this occasion, he told the Admiral, with great feeling and firmness, that he could not consent to receive a medal, while that for the 1st of June was withheld. "I feel," said he, "that I was then improperly passed over; and to receive such a distinction now, would be to acknowledge the propriety of that injustice."—"That is precisely the answer which I expected from you, Captain Collingwood," was Lord St. Vincent's reply.

The two medals were afterwards—and, as Captain Collingwood seems to have thought, by desire of the King—transmitted to him at the same time by Lord Spencer, the then first Lord of the Admiralty, with a civil apology for the former omission. “I congratulate you most sincerely,” said his Lordship, “on having had the good fortune to bear so conspicuous a part on two such glorious occasions, and have troubled you with this letter, only to say, that the former medal would have been transmitted to you some months ago, if a proper conveyance had been found for it.”

TO J. E. BLACKETT, ESQ.

Excellent, off Cadiz, June 27, 1797.

I had the pleasure to receive your letter, and am quite happy to hear that Sarah, our children, and all your family, are well. This is the only thing like comfort that can reach us here: for it is a dreary life we lead, pent up in a ship for such a length of time. God help us!—there is nothing to gratify the mind but the hope that we may render essential service to our Country, and the consciousness that we mean it. The state of the fleet in England, and indeed of the Country generally, gives me the most lively sorrow. The seamen, I am persuaded, would never have revolted from good order: but consider, with such a fleet as we have now, how large a proportion of the crews of the ships are miscreants of every description, and capable of every crime; and when these predominate, what evils may we not dread from the demoniac councils and influence of such a mass of mischief! The best chance that we have here of escaping the anarchy that prevails in England is, that we have been longer established in order. No symptom of irregularity

has yet made its appearance, and I hope that blessed peace will still stand between us and civil discord. You will easily imagine that, feeling deeply for the interests of our Country, and the honour of my Profession, I am very much out of spirits. The conduct and behaviour of Mr. — has added very much to my vexation. A few days since, upon the most trivial occasion, he broke out into such a fit of frenzy and rage, and behaved to me in so contemptuous and extraordinary a manner, that I desired the First Lieutenant to order him off the deck. The day following, he wrote a letter, not excusing his conduct, but rather justifying it, and requesting to be discharged into any other ship. But when, after taking a day to cool a little, I gave him to understand, that having calmly considered the nature of his offence, and the necessity, under the present circumstances of the fleet, of giving a prompt check to the first instance of disobedience that tended to mutiny, I felt that the justice I owed to the public service outweighed the regard I had ever had for his interests and his family, and that I only hesitated about bringing him to trial by a Court Martial from the apprehension of the fatal consequences that might follow, he began to think very differently of the affair, was exceedingly dejected, hoped something might be done short of a Court Martial, as he knew what would be the probable event of that, and, if I would allow him, would quit the service for ever. I told him that I would consider further; and very much distressed and mortified I am at his conduct. He was not, I believe, sober at the time; but that will not do to plead in excuse for such violence. I know how sorry you will be on this occasion — not more than I am; but he shall never do duty in my ship again.

I hope those villains at the Nore are reduced and punished before this: a terrible example ought to be made of them. We

lie here at anchor off the town, apparently as much at our ease as at Spithead—ay, indeed much more so than they at Spithead have lately been. We have twenty-one sail of the line: the Spaniards say they have thirty completely ready; but they have no disposition to come out, and still hope for peace. The French urge them on: for, whether we ruin the Spaniards, or are ruined by them, it is equally advantageous to France; and now, I believe the Spanish Court see matters in this light. Our fleet is remarkably healthy, and we get supplies, not indeed very regularly, of bullocks from Barbary; and boats come from Portugal with cabbages, which they sell for eighteen-pence each. Whatever else we get is pretty much at the same rate, while our prizes amount to very little. The Admiral offered me the *Namur* the other day, when she was vacant; but I did not choose the trouble of moving, and a few shillings more pay was not a consideration; for I know and am known here, which, in these ticklish times, I hold to be of much consequence. Bless my dear Sarah and my precious children. I look anxiously forward to the day when we shall meet in comfort. God send it soon; for these are eventful days.

It was during this time, so full of peril to the Navy and to England, that Lord St. Vincent repressed in the Mediterranean fleet the spirit of mutiny which had unhappily prevailed at the Nore. No officer regarded with greater admiration the conduct of that distinguished Commander than did Captain Collingwood, or co-operated with more zeal and effect in the prompt and decisive measures which were then pursued; and of this the Admiral was so convinced, that it was his frequent practice to draft the most ungovernable spirits into the *Excellent*. “Send them to Collingwood,” he used to say,

“and he will bring them to order.” Notwithstanding this, while capital punishments were frequently taking place in other ships, Captain Collingwood, by the kind but firm conduct which he adopted towards his crew, was enabled to maintain discipline, not only without being driven to the dreadful necessity of bringing men to trial for their lives, but almost without the infliction of any corporal punishment whatsoever. On one occasion, a seaman was sent from the *Romulus*, who had pointed one of the fore-castle guns, shotted to the muzzle, at the quarter-deck, and, standing by it with a match, declared that he would fire at the officers, unless he received a promise that no punishment should be inflicted upon him. On his arrival on board the *Excellent*, Captain Collingwood, in the presence of many of the sailors, said to him, with great sternness of manner, “I know your character well, but beware how you attempt to excite insubordination in this ship; for I have such confidence in my men, that I am certain I shall hear in an hour of every thing you are doing. If you behave well in future, I will treat you like the rest, nor notice here what happened in another ship: but if you endeavour to excite mutiny, mark me well, I will instantly head you up in a cask, and throw you into the sea.” Under the treatment which he met with in the *Excellent*, this man became a good and obedient sailor, and never afterwards gave any cause of complaint.

The question respecting corporal punishment in the Navy, and the degree to which it can be properly controlled, has often been the subject of discussion, and practically there is great difference in different ships: for many officers are enabled to resort to it very rarely, and only in offences of the gravest nature; while others, of kind and humane dispositions, still feel themselves compelled to act upon the painful conviction that no great relaxation can be made without danger in its

frequency and severity. It cannot therefore be uninteresting to record the sentiments and conduct of Lord Collingwood in this respect during a length of service that was unexampled, and with a crew ever foremost in times of danger, and cheerfully sustaining a duration of hardship and fatigue which has no parallel in the English Navy : and although the result of one such series of experiments may not be decisive, yet it cannot fail to have its weight in the consideration of the most important question that can occupy the attention of a naval officer, how best he may secure the obedience and happiness of his men. His view of this subject cannot be better given than in his own words to a First Lord of the Admiralty, to whom he had written in favour of an officer, for whose zeal and talents he had the highest regard ; and who, as he was told in reply, was then charged with great severity to his men. “ I recommended,” says he, “ Captain —, because “ I considered him a diligent, attentive, and skilful officer ; but the “ conduct which is imputed to him has always met my decided “ reprobation, as being big with the most dangerous consequences, “ and subversive of all real discipline.” When the offence was of such a nature that the necessity of corporal punishment was manifest, Captain Collingwood was present, as is customary, but suffering from his wounded feelings greater pain probably than the culprit himself ; and on these occasions he was for many hours afterwards melancholy and silent, sometimes not speaking a word again for the remainder of the day.

Before the late excellent regulations of the Admiralty had directed that a registry and report should be made of all punishments on board ship, Captain Collingwood was accustomed, from an early period, to keep, in his own hand-writing, an account of those which he inflicted ; and to this he appears to have often referred

as matter of comparison and meditation. Of this account, the following is an example:—

Time—1793.	Men's Names.	Punishment.	Crime, and Remarks.
May 21...	James P.	7 lashes	{ For beating Stephen Shore, a poor silly boy.
June 1...	John W., marine ..	9	{ For stealing half-a-guinea.
20...	Daniel G.	12	{ For absenting himself from duty.
Aug. 3...	Martin H., a soldier	6	{ For quitting his post while sentinel.
Ditto ...	Hubert Q.	6	{ For fighting and riotous behaviour.
Ditto ...	John P.	6	{ For stealing a bag of clothes and money.
6...	Dennis F.	9	{ For sleeping on his post when sentinel.
18...	William S., soldier .	10	{ For drunkenness, fighting, and riotous behaviour.
Ditto ...	Thomas —.....	8	{ For mutinously propagating malicious reports of Sergeant O., tending to excite discontent among the men.
Ditto ...	Robert —.....	7	{ For disobedience of orders, in bringing liquor into the ship, and contemptuous behaviour.
26...	Timothy C., soldier .	11	{
Sept. 12...	Joseph A.	12	{

As his experience in command and his knowledge of the dispositions of men increased, his abhorrence of corporal punishment grew daily stronger; and, in the latter part of his life, more than a year has often passed away without his having resorted to it even once. “I wish I were the Captain, for your sakes,” cried Lieutenant Clavell one day to some men who were doing some part of their duty ill: when shortly after, a person touched him on the shoulder, and turning round, he saw the Admiral, who had overheard him. “And pray, Clavell, what would you have done if you had been Captain?” “I would have flogged them well, Sir.” “No you would not, Clavell; no you would not,” he replied; “I know you better.” He used to tell the ship’s company that he was determined that the youngest Mid-

shipman should be obeyed as implicitly as himself, and that he would punish with great severity any instance to the contrary. When a Midshipman made a complaint, he would order the man for punishment the next day; and, in the interval, calling the boy down to him, would say, "In all probability the fault was yours; but whether " it were or not, I am sure it would go to your heart to see a man " old enough to be your father disgraced and punished on your " account; and it will, therefore, give me a good opinion of your " disposition, if, when he is brought out, you ask for his pardon." When this recommendation, acting as it did like an order, was complied with, and the lad interceded for the prisoner, Captain Collingwood would make great apparent difficulty in yielding; but at length would say, "This young gentleman has pleaded so humanely " for you, that in the hope that you will feel a due gratitude to him " for his benevolence, I will for this time overlook your offence."

The punishments which he substituted for the lash were of many kinds, such as watering the grog, and other modes now happily general in the Navy. Among the rest was one which the men particularly dreaded. It was the ordering any offender to be excluded from his mess, and be employed in every sort of extra duty; so that he was every moment liable to be called upon deck for the meanest service, amid the laughter and jeers of the men and boys. Such an effect had this upon the sailors, that they have often declared that they would much prefer having three dozen lashes: and, to avoid the recurrence of this punishment, the worst characters never failed to become attentive and orderly. How he sought to amuse and occupy the attention of the men appears in some of these letters. When they were sick, even while he was an Admiral, he visited them daily, and supplied them from his own table: and when they were convalescent,

they were put into the charge of the Lieutenant of the morning watch, and daily brought up to the Admiral for examination by him. The result of this conduct was, that the sailors considered him and called him their father; and frequently, when he changed his ship, many of the men were seen in tears for his departure. But with all this there was no man who less courted, or to speak more truly, who held in more entire contempt, what is ordinarily styled popularity. He was never known to unbend with the men; while, at the same time, he never used any coarse or violent language to them himself, or permitted it in others. "If you do not know a man's name," he used to say to the officers, "call him sailor, and not you-sir, and such other appellations; they are offensive and improper." With regard to expressions it may be added, that, after the occurrences at the Nore, he had the most decided objection to the use of the word mutiny. When complaints were made of conduct which was designated as mutinous, he would exclaim, "Mutiny, Sir! mutiny in my ship! If it can have arrived at that, it must be my fault and the fault of every one of the officers. It is a charge of the gravest nature, and it shall be most gravely inquired into." With this view of his feeling on this subject, the officer was generally induced to consider and represent the affair more lightly, or sometimes to pass it over altogether.

His conduct to his officers was of a similar kind. His perfect knowledge of all matters of seamanship, and his quick and correct eye, enabled him in an instant to discover any thing that was out of order in his ship; and his reproofs on these occasions, though always short, and conveyed in the language of a gentleman, were deeply felt: so that to many officers, and particularly to the young and careless, he was an object of dread, and was considered by all as a strict

disciplinarian. "I have given you, Sir, a commission," said Lord St. Vincent to Lieutenant Clavell, who was then a perfect stranger to Captain Collingwood, but who never left him till he was made by him a Post Captain, "into the Excellent; but remember that you are going to a man who will take it away from you to-morrow if you behave ill." He treated the Midshipmen with parental care, examining them himself once a week, and declaring that nothing would give him greater pain than that any young man in his ship should be unable to pass: and when off duty, he did every thing in his power to make his officers at ease, and to promote their welfare. With those to whom he became attached, from observing their attention to their duty, which was ever the road to his regard, his friendship and confidence were affectionate and unbounded. To his own superiors he maintained the same conduct, demanding and receiving from them that respect to which, by his character and station, he was entitled. On one occasion, the Excellent was directed to weigh when off Cadiz, and to close with the Admiral's ship, and in running down the signal was made five or six times for altering the course, first on one side and then on the other, and at length for a Lieutenant. Captain Collingwood, who had been observing this in silence, ordered his boat to be manned, as he would go too. On his arrival on board, he desired the Lieutenant, when the order was copied, to bring it to him; and he read it while he was walking the quarter-deck with Lord St. Vincent and Sir Robert Calder. It was merely an order for the Excellent to receive on board two bags of onions for the use of the sick; and on seeing it he exclaimed, "Bless me! is this the service, my Lord — is this the service, Sir Robert? Has the Excellent's signal been made five or six times for two bags of onions? Man my boat, Sir, and let us go on board again!" And

though repeatedly pressed by Lord St. Vincent to stay dinner, he refused, and retired.

When he was in command as an Admiral, he made it a point of duty never to give any of those vexatious and harrassing orders of which he had himself at times occasion to complain; and although he was ever solicitous that merit should be noticed and rewarded, he abstained as much as possible from interference and complaint.

If he had occasion to remark upon any thing, it was always done with great calmness, and frequently with considerable point. When he was once particularly anxious to complete his bread, and to sail immediately, he inquired of the Captain, an officer for whom he had a high esteem, if all the boats were gone ashore. "I have sent them all," was the reply, "except my barge." "Oh! of course," said the Admiral, "a Captain's barge must never be employed for such purposes; but I hope they make every possible use of mine."

There was one thing, however, which, as he ever practised it to a remarkable degree himself, so he exacted it with great rigour from others, and that was the utmost economy in the use of the naval stores.

"I am really at a loss to know," he observes, in writing to Sir James Saumarez, "whether the enemy will make a push in the dark nights, or have adopted a policy slower in its operation, but more certain; and mean to stay in port till our ships are worn at sea, and the expense of keeping them there has brought the finances of the Country to poverty and exhaustion. This is a condition to be as carefully guarded against as a present invasion, for the latter will be the certain consequences of the former, if ever we are unhappily reduced to it. Strongly impressed with this belief, my thoughts are ever bent on economising, and doing all in my power to lessen the

“ expense of sailing the ships. The difference I observe in them is
“ immense: some men, who have the foresight to discern what our
“ first difficulty will be, support and provide their ships by enchant-
“ ment, one scarce knows how; while others, less provident, would
“ exhaust a dock-yard, and still be in want. I do not think those
“ gentlemen should go to sea; they certainly do not regard or feel for
“ the future necessities of their Country.”

When instances of this inattention occurred, his disapprobation at times broke forth in terms of great severity. “ That officer,” he said on one occasion, “ should never sail without a store-ship in
“ company. He knows as much seamanship as the King’s Attorney
“ General: I would not trust him with a boat in a trout stream.”

With reference to the subject of corporal punishment, it may be observed, that in Lord Nelson’s ship it was almost equally rare; and how well the men, under both these Commanders, conducted themselves in the time of trial, it is unnecessary to remark; but that a contrary conduct was often productive of different and most unhappy effects, appears in various parts of Lord Collingwood’s correspondence with the Admiralty. He stated, more than once, that some of the younger Captains (although he admits that there were many honourable exceptions), endeavouring to conceal, by great severity, their own unskilfulness and want of attention, beat the men into a state of insubordination; and that such vessels increased the number, but diminished the strength, of his fleet. “ We have had lately,” he says, in writing to a friend, “ two Courts Martial, in which such conduct
“ was proved, as leaves it doubtful whether it was founded on cruelty
“ or folly. The only defence which was urged, was the plea of youth
“ and inexperience; and yet it is to such youth and inexperience that
“ the honour and dearest interests of our Country are intrusted.”—On

one occasion, while his fleet was much inferior in number to that of the enemy, he thus speaks to the then First Lord of the Admiralty, respecting one of the line-of-battle ships: —

“ I once intimated that it would be very agreeable to me if the
“ — were ordered to England from the fleet. I have directed
“ inquiries into the causes of the complaints which are made on all
“ sides, without yet knowing where to fix the source of them;
“ whether in the want of a proper government, or in the perverseness
“ of those who are to be governed. But in her present state I expect
“ no good service from her; and her example may be pernicious.
“ It is for this reason that I am anxious she should be removed to
“ England; for, even without a ship in her stead, I shall consider the
“ squadron as much strengthened by her being withdrawn from it.”

Some alterations were made in consequence of this communication: that they had been much needed, will appear from the following extract of another letter to the same person, written a few months afterwards: —

“ It is known to you how much trouble I had with the —,
“ from the dissatisfaction in the ship’s company. I am very glad
“ to find that there are now no symptoms of it remaining. Every
“ thing appears to be quiet; but in preparing for battle last week,
“ several of the guns in the after part of the ship were found to be
“ spiked, which had probably been done when that contentious
“ spirit existed.”

The Editor has inserted these details respecting Lord Colling-

wood's habits of command, in the belief that there are no persons, whatever may be their rank in the Navy, to whom his practice and example can be uninteresting or uninstructional; and the statements have been thrown together in their present form, rather than according to the respective dates of the letters from which they are extracted, in order to spare, as much as possible, any officer from the pain of supposing that these observations were originally applied to himself.

TO THE SAME.

Excellent, off Cadiz, August 31st, 1797.

We are lying here blockading this port, as we have done all the summer, very effectually, and thereby totally ruin the Spanish trade; but our active and offensive operations have not been so successful. We began a bombardment with one poor ill-fitted bomb; but they made great preparations for retaliating upon Gibraltar, which was as open to their insult as Cadiz to ours, and we desisted. Then my friend Nelson, whose spirit is equal to all undertakings, and whose resources are fitted to all occasions, was sent with three sail of the line and some other ships to Teneriffe, to surprise and capture it. After a series of adventures, tragic and comic, that belong to romance, they were obliged to abandon their enterprise. Nelson was shot in the right arm when landing, and was obliged to be carried on board. He himself hailed the ship, and desired the Surgeon would get his instruments ready to dis-arm him; and in half an hour after it was off he gave all the orders necessary for carrying on their operations, as if nothing had happened to him. In three weeks after, when he joined us, he went on board the Admiral, and I think exerted himself to a degree of great imprudence. Captain

Bowen was killed, and his First Lieutenant, Thorpe, for whom I was very sorry: he was a fine young man, and promised to be an excellent officer. Captain Troubridge, who commanded on shore, after many adventures in the night, was obliged to retire to a convent, where he collected the remains of his forces, without ammunition, except what they took from the prisoners they made; and from this convent they demanded the surrender of the citadel, and threatened the town with ruin. In the presence of the priests they were employed in preparing torches, fire-balls, and all the necessary apparatus for conflagration; and they in terror fled to the Governor, to entreat him to grant to those mad Englishmen any terms by which they might get rid of them. He being a worthy, sensible man, full of admiration even at the extravagance of the English seamen, and dreading perhaps the effects of their despair, made propositions to them of so much kindness, that they were not to be rejected. The Spaniards found boats to embark them all in their ships again; and before they parted, gave to every man a loaf and pint of wine, for our boats were all dashed to pieces in landing, and the provisions lost in the sea. Captains Troubridge and Hood afterwards dined with the Governor, and they parted good friends; but we lost in killed and wounded above 250 men. We are at present waiting impatiently the result of Lord Malmesbury's negotiation, and very glad most of us will be if he is successful.

TO THE SAME.

Excellent, off Cadiz, January 26th, 1798.

We continue to cruise here unmolested by the Spaniards; and as their trade seems to be entirely suspended, we have no means of annoying them effectually. We have lately had only six

sail of the line here, and have shewn them our force; but they are not to be provoked to quit their port, where they are busily employed in preparing their share of the storm which is intended to carry desolation and ruin to our country. It is a foolish part for Spain to take; but she is no longer an independent nation. The hearts of the people are well disposed towards England; but their Government is imbecile, and their Court subject to the imperious controul of France. The force preparing here is very great, and I hope we shall have such an augmentation as will enable us to meet them. There are in this port more than thirty sail of the line, most of them complete for sea, in which a great quantity of army stores, field artillery, mortars, and shells, have been lately embarked. An extraordinary number of soldiers are on board, and great care is taken to discipline them; many more troops are in the neighbourhood, ready for embarkation: and to those ships are to be added the Carthagenas and Toulon squadrons, with the Venetian ships, which by all accounts will amount to twenty-six sail; so that their whole force to proceed from hence will probably exceed fifty sail of the line. We heard some time since that three Commissioners were arrived here from France, which we now understand to be for the purpose of urging the equipment of the Spaniards, and preparing supplies for their own ships, which they expect soon down the Mediterranean. They have killed this winter 42,000 hogs, as sea victualling for their fleet, and are making the utmost exertions in every department. Such is the rancorous hatred of the French towards us, that I do not think they would on any terms make peace, until they have tried this experiment on our Country; and never was a country assailed by so formidable a force. Yet, let England be true to herself, — unanimous in her opposition to this host of foes, — and I have no doubt of a

happy issue. We at sea, I am well assured, will do our part; and would that the contest were to be decided there: but this the enemy will avoid by every possible means, for their dependence is on being landed before our fleet can prevent them; and considering how near the coasts are, the thing is practicable. In short, there never was a time that required so much the unanimity of a nation. The question is not merely, who shall be conqueror, with the acquisition of some island or colony ceded by a treaty, and then the business concludes; but whether we shall any longer be a people,—whether Britain is still to be enrolled among the list of European nations,—whether the name of Englishman is to continue an appellation of honour, conveying the idea of every quality which makes human nature respectable, or a term of reproach and infamy, the designation of beggars and of slaves. Men of property must come forward both with purse and sword; for the contest must decide whether they shall have any thing, even a Country, which they can call their own.

My wits are ever at work to keep my people employed, both for health's sake, and to save them from mischief. We have lately been making musical instruments, and have now a very good band. Every moonlight night the sailors dance; and there seems as much mirth and festivity as if we were in Wapping itself. One night the rats destroyed the bagpipes we had made, by eating up the bellows; but they suffer for it, for in revenge we have made traps of all constructions, and have declared a war of extermination against them. My appointment as Commodore was only during the absence of the established number of Admirals; and now Sir John Orde and Admiral Frederick make the number up again, I shall strike my broad pendant and return to my private station.

TO THE SAME.

Excellent, May-day, off Cadiz, 1798.

Sir Horatio Nelson arrived here yesterday, and I had the pleasure of receiving, what is the greatest pleasure I can have here, your and Sarah's kind letters. The Spaniards are very strong within the harbour, and we lie without it, ready to give them battle whenever they are disposed. What adds very much to their strength is the great number of gun-boats, carrying heavy cannon, which make the approach to their harbour in light winds a serious thing: they row a great many oars, and in calms are almost as active as our barges. My friend Ball was, the other day, set in by the current very close, when they made a very vigorous attack upon him with near seventy of those boats and above one hundred small ones: he was annoyed very much until a breeze brought him off. He lost two or three men, and had five or six badly wounded.

These boats are such small objects, that they often escape without loss or injury, and more effectually preserve their town and port from insult than all their gallant fleet within. We have intelligence that the French at Toulon and Marseilles are equipping a very great armament, which, as they give out, is intended against Naples and Sicily; but the Americans, from whom this account was received, say the general opinion is that this force is intended for England. If those people should attempt to pass the Straits, we shall certainly make a fine uproar amongst them; but then the Spaniards will be at large to act where they please: in short, we seem to be the target for all the nations of Europe to shoot their malice at. It will be a happy day that gives us peace; but it does not seem to be in prospect yet. Nothing but the utmost exertion, both of personal and pecuniary aid,

can repel the enemy, who I am confident will make the experiment of invasion; and if they should get footing, what would be the amount of any man's property! The Flag-officers and Captains have made a subscription amounting to 5000 pounds, which was very well, considering how few of us are men of fortune. I confess the subscriptions of ships' companies at home give me no satisfaction: there is much danger in accustoming great bodies of men, whose service should be merely personal, to deliberate on any subject, but particularly to canvass the propriety of any political measure. It has always been a maxim with me to engage and occupy my men, and to take such care for them that they should have nothing to think of for themselves beyond the current business of the day.

I am sorry so active an officer as Col. ——— should not be employed: what should I suffer if, in this convulsion of nations, this general call of Englishmen to the standard of their Country, I should be without occupation? — a miserable creature! While it is England, let me keep my place in the front of the battle. I never saw my friend Nelson look so well; he is really grown fat, and not the worse for losing an arm.

Excellent, June 17th, off Cadiz, 1798.

Our situation here is more dull than it was last summer, for then some little Spaniard did fall in our way and afforded something to talk of; now the whole is a blank, and one day so like another, that we want incidents to mark the time withal. The arrival of a mail from England is a grand epocha. We have not heard from Admiral Nelson since he left us, but he is in a field for the exercise of his great talents; and I hope his good fortune will not forsake him on this occasion. The Admiral has received advice

that the armament, which the French have been so long preparing at Toulon and Marseilles, has sailed on an expedition, which is confidently asserted to be to Egypt: it consists of several sail of the line,—how many is not known,—and a great number of transports, containing many thousand troops, besides entire families, men, women, and children; in short, a complete colony, to take possession and people a country at a stroke. It is, I believe, the execution of a plan which has been long in contemplation in France, for the opening a trade from India by the Red Sea, and supplying Europe with the produce of the East without that long circuitous voyage round the Cape of Good Hope. Whatever it is, I hope Sir H. Nelson will dispose of their army and fleet in a way to be no longer troublesome to Europe. The Spaniards are well disposed to peace, and the interest of their country requires it; but God knows whether their French friends will allow that to be a reason for no longer upholding their tyranny: nothing, however, is more certain than that the continuance of the war is ruinous to Spain. His Catholic Majesty has invited the Pope (good old man) to take an asylum in his dominions, which invitation the Holy Father has accepted; and application has been made by the Spanish Monarch to Lord St. Vincent for safe passports for the ships employed in conducting his Holiness from Italy to some port in Spain. This the Admiral immediately granted, at the same time offering every aid on the part of the British fleet that might be necessary in the accomplishment of this beneficent mission. The aids you will suppose were declined; but the correspondence between the Admiral and Don Josef Massaredo was equally creditable to both nations. I believe the Spaniards have a very great respect for us; in all the intercourses of the common people with our sailors there is much more of kindness than with the wolves about Portsmouth.

I have a great pleasure in saying I think there is little doubt of my coming to England this year: for since Sir Roger Curtis arrived, we have more ships here than come to our share; and as soon as the movements of the French are clearly ascertained, there will doubtless be a reduction here; and from the state of my ship, I think I shall be amongst the first to come home. Indeed, the Admiral told me he had written to the Admiralty to say that it was proper the Excellent should go to England before the winter. I think so too. I hope my dear Sarah and her little family are well. How I do long to see them! We have had a great many courts martial lately; and with every detachment which arrives, we get some ungovernable spirits, whom we are under the grievous necessity of punishing with death.

TO THE SAME.

July 22, 1798.

Young —— appears to me to be a very good mild-tempered boy, and I will leave nothing undone which is in my power to promote his knowledge and interests. He is studying geometry with me, and I keep him close to his books. It is a pity, as he was intended for the sea service, that he has not been taught navigation; but I will at least prepare him for a better master. I was truly sorry to hear of the death of good Mrs. ——, and my regard for her shall be transferred to this boy.

When you heard that Sir Roger Curtis was come out to us, you would conclude that it was to relieve the old set. He brought eight sail with him; but this was to enable the Commander-in-chief to detach a strong force into the Mediterranean with Nelson. He has now fourteen sail of 2-decked ships, with which I hope, before this,

he has completely defeated the armada of the French and their Egyptian scheme. He sailed from near Naples, where he got pilots to carry him through the Straits of Messina two days before the French were to leave Malta, in which case he must very soon have come up with them. The French ships were lumbered with all kinds of things, and crowded with all sorts of people, professors of every science and art, from astronomers down to washerwomen.

In the Orient, the Admiral's ship, in which Buonaparte is embarked, they have, it is said, 2000 persons; and all the French accounts rest their chief hope of success in the confidence that the English had no fleet in the Mediterranean.

This appointment of Admiral Nelson to a service where so much honour was to be acquired, has given great offence to the senior Admirals of the fleet. Sir William Parker, who is a very excellent officer, and as gallant a man as any in the Navy, and Sir John Orde, who on all occasions of service has acquitted himself with great honour, are both feeling much hurt at a junior of the same fleet having so marked a preference given him, and have written to Lord Spencer, complaining of this neglect of them. The fleet is, in consequence, in a most unpleasant state; and now all that intercourse of friendship, which was the only thing like comfort which was left us, is forbidden: for the Admirals and Captains are desired not to entertain, even at dinner, any who do not belong to their ships. They all complain that they are appointed to many unworthy services, and I have my share with the rest: but I place myself beyond the reach of such matters; for I do them with all the exactness in my power, as if they were things of the utmost importance, though I do not conceal what I think of them. In short, I do as every body does—wish myself at home very much.

The accounts from Ireland give me great uneasiness: one of the mutineers who lately suffered death in the *Princess Royal* was a member of a seditious society in England, and communicated to his confessor the united Irishmen's oath. Nothing could be drawn up in stronger terms. This man had been employed in several missions from the society in England to the united Irish, and was thought a proper person to disseminate their principles in the fleet, and for that purpose alone he entered

Though Lord Collingwood was ever eager to bear testimony to the merit of all who were connected with him in service, there are very few instances in his correspondence in which he censures the conduct of others; and the Editor would have omitted some passages in the preceding letter, if it had not been for the publication of one of Lord St. Vincent's letters, in which he says, "I pride myself in maintaining strict discipline, when surrounded by factious spirits in the lower orders, and discontents among the higher classes." That distinguished Commander was doubtless convinced that those times demanded from him an unusual severity of discipline; yet, in justice to the higher classes in that fleet, it may surely be said, that the circumstances detailed in the above letter, furnished some ground for the discontent which prevailed.

TO SIR H. NELSON.

ON THE VICTORY OF THE NILE.

Off Cadiz, 1798.

I cannot, my dear friend, express how great my joy is for the complete and glorious victory you have obtained over

the French,—the most decisive, and in its consequences perhaps the most important to Europe that was ever won ; and my heart overflows with thankfulness to the Divine Providence for his protection of you through the great dangers which are ever attendant on services of such eminence. So total an overthrow of their fleet, and the consequent deplorable situation of the army they have in Africa, will, I hope, teach those tyrants in the Directory a lesson of humility, and dispose them to peace and justice, that they may restore to those states which they have ruined all that can now be saved from the wreck of a subverted government and plundered people. I lament most sincerely the death of Captain Westcott ; he was a good officer, and a worthy man : but if it were a part of our condition to choose a day on which to die, where could we have found one so memorable, so eminently distinguished among great days ? I have been here miserable enough all the summer ; but I hope to go to England very soon. The *Barfleur*, *Northumberland*, and some other ships, are expected to relieve the old ones.—Say to Lady Nelson, when you write to her, how much I congratulate her on the safety, honours, and services of her husband. Good God ! what must be her feelings ! how great her gratitude to Heaven for such mercies !—Pray give my hearty congratulations to all my friends in your fleet. I am glad to understand my worthy Ball and Darby are recovering. That success may ever attend you, is the constant prayer of your faithful and affectionate friend.

TO CAPTAIN BALL.

MY DEAR BALL,

Excellent, still off Cadiz, October 28th, 1798.

I cannot express to you how great my joy was when the news arrived of the complete and unparalleled victory

which you obtained over the French, or what were my emotions of thankfulness that the life of my worthy and much respected friend was preserved through such a day of danger, to his family and his Country. I congratulate you, my dear friend, on your success. Oh, my dear Ball, how I have lamented that I was not one of you! Many a victory has been won, and I hope many are yet to come, but there never has been, nor will be perhaps again, one in which the fruits have been so completely gathered, the blow so nobly followed up, and the consequences so fairly brought to account. I have been almost broken-hearted all the summer. My ship was in as perfect order for any service as those which were sent; in zeal I will yield to none; and my friendship — my love for your admirable Admiral gave me a particular interest in serving with him. I saw them preparing to leave us, and to leave me, with pain; but our good Chief found employment for me, and to occupy my mind sent me to cruise off St. Luccars, to intercept — the market-boats, the poor cabbage carriers. Oh! humiliation. But for the consciousness that I did not deserve degradation from any hand, and that my good estimation would not be depreciated in the minds of honourable men by the caprice of power, I should have died with indignation. I am tired of it; and you will believe I am glad that to-morrow I depart for England. The Barfleur and Northumberland, Dacres and Martin, joined us to-day. I have seen the account of the action and plans which you sent to Sir William Parker. I admire Blanquet's ingenuousness; but I believe the French nation will never know the truth of his story. Something must be fabricated to veil the extent of their loss and of their disgrace. I was alarmed for you when I heard you were wounded; but as you do not mention it yourself, I hope you have received no material injury, and are now quite well. It was God's

great mercy that you were not blown to atoms by the vast explosion l'Orient must have made.—I have heard with great pleasure that your squadron has presented Sir H. Nelson with a sword: it is the honours to which he led you reflected back upon himself, — the finest testimony of his merits for having led you to a field in which you all so nobly displayed your own. The expectation of the people of England was raised to the highest pitch; the event has exceeded all expectation. Every day do I lament that I was not a partaker with you. You will have heard how suddenly Sir John Orde left the fleet. What was the subject of difference I never could understand, or even that there was any. It gave me much uneasiness that there should be an appearance of disagreement among men of high rank at such a time, when our very existence seems to depend upon harmony and united efforts. Your squadron has shewn eminently the good effects of them. Remember me most kindly to Sir H. Nelson, to whom I wrote not long since; to Foley, Troubridge, and all my friends. Tell them how truly I congratulate them. With every good wish for you, I am ever, my dear Ball,

Your faithful and affectionate friend.

TO J. E. BLACKETT, ESQ.

Excellent, Spithead, December 9, 1798.

I am waiting here very anxiously for the Admiralty to determine what is to be done with my ship. The report of her defects is before the Navy Board, and they say here that she will require three months' repair; so that it is not improbable she will be paid off entirely. This, however, I do not wish, for I prefer her to the large new ships. I have hardly time even to get through my current business for courts martial, at which I have been confined.

ever since I was released from quarantine. To-morrow we begin again.

I am very impatient to see my beloved family, and hope that I shall be allowed to remain in quiet enjoyment of you all for a few months; and in fact I shall be good for nothing till I have been in the North.

TO THE SAME.

Portsmouth, January 8th, 1799.

We never know, till it is too late, whether we are going too fast or too slow; but I am now repenting that I did not persuade my dear Sarah to come to me as soon as I knew I was not to go from this port; but the length of the journey, the inclemency of the weather, and the little prospect of my staying here half this time, made me think it an unnecessary fatigue for her. I am now quite sick at heart with disappointment and vexation; and though I hope every day for relief, yet I find it impossible to say when I shall be clear.

I have this moment received orders to discharge a good many of my men, which is in consequence of my letter to Lord Spencer, telling him that I had urgent and indispensable business, which made it particularly inconvenient to go to sea at present in the *Atlas*, as he had proposed to me; and that I should have long since requested leave of absence, but that as my ship was ordered to be paid off, I did not choose to leave her until her men were disposed of. We shall now, I think, go on discharging them every day until they are all gone, and then I shall be at large, which is the only cure for my heart-ache.—Last night I went to Lady Parker's twelfth-night, where all the gentlemen's children of the town were at dance and revelry; but

I thought of my own, and was so completely out of spirits that I left them in the middle of it. My wife shall know all my movements, even the very hour in which I shall be able to come to you. I hope they will not hurry me to sea again, for my spirit requires some respite from the anxieties which a ship occasions.

Bless my precious girls for me, and their beloved mother.

Captain Collingwood was now permitted to return to his family, but his interval of repose was short; for in a few weeks he was raised to the rank of Rear-Admiral, and, hoisting his flag in the *Triumph*, proceeded immediately to the Channel fleet. From that station he was despatched under Sir Charles Cotton, who carried a reinforcement of twelve sail of the line to Lord Keith, and joined him in June, in the Mediterranean, where the Brest fleet, and the principal part of the naval force of France and Spain, were then collected.

TO THE SAME.

Triumph, off Mahon, July 11, 1799.

I am as well as can be; but not in very lofty spirits. Lord St. Vincent's health is much impaired, and he is unable to go to sea; so that he lives on shore at Gibraltar, sending orders for the conduct of the fleet. In the mean time, the French go where they please, and we take care of Minorca. They are now with the Spaniards at Carthagená; and if you hear of their arrival at Brest, you must not be surprised.

Many instances will appear in these letters of Lord Collingwood's sagacity and foresight, but in none of them was his prediction

more speedily fulfilled than on this occasion ; for, on the 21st of July, the French and Spanish fleets, amounting to forty ships of the line, sailed for Brest, and were followed by Lord Keith on the 30th, who, on the 14th of August, on his arrival off that harbour, discovered that they had entered it on the preceding day.

Triumph, Torbay, August 18, 1799.

You will have heard from my dear Sarah, to whom I wrote the 16th, the day of our arrival, that I am well, and that is the best news I have to tell you ; for we have made a most unfortunate voyage of it. In all reasonable expectation, the French fleet ought not to have escaped us ; and I had always hopes of our coming up with them, until we sailed into Port Mahon, which is a very narrow harbour, from which you cannot get out without great difficulty. There we remained, until the enemy had got so far the start, that it was not possible to come up with them. We arrived at Brest the day after them, and finding them snug, came here ; — at all which there has been great lamentation in the fleet.

Triumph, Torbay, November 1799.

We are lying here, with a great fleet, quite ready ; but are, I think, in high luck to be in port this very stormy weather, as it has blown a gale of wind ever since we came in. We should have been ruined if we had kept the sea, and there is no fear of the enemy getting out while the storm continues. Our miscarriage in Holland will give us a great deal to do with our ships, and would that peace or war depended on our success. Good sometimes arises from evil ; and if the men whom the enemy will now get, should enable their fleet to come to sea, we must exert ourselves, and God be with

us! I have no fears for the issue of the conflict, happen when it will. From the present appearance of things, there seems little chance of my being in any port this winter, except this wild bay. I will order Mr. ——'s son to be received here with a great deal of pleasure, and do every thing in my power for him. Has he been taught navigation? If his father intended him for the sea, he should have been put to a mathematical school when twelve years old. Boys make very little progress in a ship, without being well practised in navigation; and fifteen is too old to begin, for very few take well to the sea at that age. If, however, Mr. —— is determined, he should lose no further time, but have his son taught trigonometry perfectly before he begins navigation. If the boy has any taste for drawing, it will be a great advantage to him, and should be encouraged.

TO THE SAME.

Barfleur, Torbay, May 23, 1800.

Would to God that this war were happily concluded! It is anguish enough to me to be thus for ever separated from my family; but that my Sarah should, in my absence, be suffering from illness, is complete misery. Pray, my dear sir, have the goodness to write a line or two very often, to tell me how she does. I am quite pleased at the account you give me of my girls. If it were peace, I do not think there would be a happier set of creatures in Northumberland than we should be. You do not mention the hard gale of wind we had on Saturday the 17th, so that I suppose it did not reach you. I have not seen so great a sea for these twenty years. This ship bore it as well as any, but I believe we are all much strained. The Admiral had not yesterday heard any

thing of the Elephant and Warrior, and I fear some lamentable thing has happened to them to keep them out so long; but Foley and Tyler, their Captains, are very clever men, and will manage as well as possible. I have not been on shore since we came in.

Neptune, off Brest, August 15, 1800.

I do assure you, when I reflect on my long absence from all that can make me happy, it is very painful to me, and what day is there that I do not lament the continuance of this war? We are wandering before this port, with no prospect of change for the better. Nothing good can happen to us short of peace. Every officer and man in the fleet is impatient for release from a situation which daily becomes more irksome to all. I see disgust growing round me very fast. Instead of softening the rigours of a service which must, from its nature, be attended with many anxieties, painful watchings, and deprivation of every thing like comfort, a contrary system is pursued, which has not extended to me; but I see its effects on others, and deplore them. What I feel as a great misfortune, is, that there is no exercise of the military part of the duty, no practice of those movements, by a facility in which one fleet is made superior to another. Whoever comes here ignorant in these points, must remain so; for he will find other employment, about blankets, and pig-sties, and tumbling provisions out of one ship into another. How the times are changed! Once, when officers met, the first question was,—What news of the French? is there any prospect of their coming to sea? Now there is no solicitude on that subject, and the hope of peace alone engages the attention of every body.

TO THE SAME.

Barfleur, Torbay, October 4, 1800.

It is a great comfort to me, banished as I am from all that is dear to me, to learn that my beloved Sarah and her girls are well. Would to Heaven it were peace! that I might come, and for the rest of my life be blessed in their affection. Indeed, this unremitting hard service is a great sacrifice, giving up all that is pleasurable to the soul, or soothing to the mind, and engaging in a constant contest with the elements, or with tempers and dispositions as boisterous and untractable. Great allowance should be made for us when we come on shore; for being long in the habits of absolute command, we grow impatient of contradiction, and are unfitted for the gentle intercourse of quiet life. I am really in great hopes that it will not be long before the experiment will be made upon me, for I think we shall soon have peace; and I assure you that I will endeavour to conduct myself with as much moderation as possible. I have come to another resolution, which is, when this war is happily terminated, to think no more of ships, but pass the rest of my days in the bosom of my family, where I think my prospects of happiness are equal to any man's.

TO THE SAME.

Barfleur, Plymouth Dock, December 27, 1800.

I intend that you shall receive this on the 1st of January, your birth-day; and I pray God that you may live to receive my congratulations on the same occasion for many years to come; that you may find in your family all the blessings which your paternal care of them has so justly merited, and filial piety can bestow; that

you may long see your own good heart reflected in the kind and benevolent manners of your daughters; and that in due time my precious children may join their efforts in administering to your comfort. May you, my dear sir, be very happy; and when better times come, may we all be glad together, and talk over this my long separation from all that is happiness, as a bondage and a peril that are past.

I am here conducting the fitting out of our fleet, which is, I assure you, a laborious office, but that I do not mind; and have now been near a month in port. What a month it would have been had my wife been with me! It grieves me ten times more than if I had been at sea.

TO THE SAME.

Barfleur, Cawsand Bay, January 18th, 1801.

I have been a long time here, and do not know when I shall remove. It has been a melancholy, forlorn time to me; and I have not been quite well. There is a dreadful languor that I cannot shake off; but when Sarah comes, when I see her, I shall then be well. I do not write to her because I think it likely they are now on their journey southward. Shall we ever have peace? I confess I do not expect to see it. All Europe has combined to reduce the power and annihilate the glory of England; but the stand we will make will be that of the lion at the mouth of his cave. I do not wish to live to see the honour of our country faded, or its interests injured; nor do I think it probable that I shall. The Danes and Swedes have joined the coalition, and we now seize them all.

You have been made happy this winter in the visit of your daughter. How glad should I have been could I have joined you;

but it will not be long; two years more will, I think, exhaust me completely, and then I shall be fit only to be nursed. God knows how little claim I have on any body to take that trouble. My daughters can never be to me what yours have been, whose affections have been nurtured by daily acts of kindness. They may be told that it is a duty to regard me, but it is not reasonable to expect that they should have the same feeling for a person of whom they have only heard; but if they are good and virtuous, as I hope and believe they will be, I may share at least in their kindness with the rest of the world.

Barfleur, Cawsand Bay, January 25, 1801.

Nothing could give me more pleasure than the letter I received on Thursday from my dearest Sarah, telling me she was to set off on the Tuesday following. I am delighted at the thought of seeing her so soon, and it has cured me of all my complaints; indeed I believe the cause of them was vexation and sorrow at being, as it were, entirely lost to my family. She will soon be a good sailor, for she must come to my ship, as I cannot, under our present circumstances, be on shore. You will be surprised to hear that I have only dined twice out of my ship, once with the Admiral and once with the Commissioner, since I came in, which is near seven weeks.

We are at present lying completely ready, and, on the least motion made by the enemy, should sail; so you may conceive what an anxious time I have of it. Lord Nelson is here; and I think he will probably come and live with me when the weather will allow him; but he does not get in and out of ships well with one arm. He gave me an account of his reception at Court, which was not very flattering,

after having been the admiration of that of Naples. His Majesty merely asked him if he had recovered his health; and then, without waiting for an answer, turned to General ———, and talked to him near half an hour in great good humour. It could not be about his successes.

FROM LORD NELSON.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Cawsand Bay, Tuesday.

I truly feel for you, and as much for dear Mrs. Collingwood. How sorry I am. For Heaven's sake, do not think I had the gift of foresight; but something told me so it would be. Can't you contrive and stay to night: it will be a comfort if only to see your family one hour. Therefore, had you not better stay on shore and wait for her. Ever, my dear Collingwood, believe me, your affectionate and faithful friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

If they would have manned me and sent me off, it would have been real pleasure to me. How cross are the fates!

TO J. E. BLACKETT, ESQ.

Barfleur, Torbay, February 6th, 1801.

Sarah will have told you how and when we met; it was a joy to me that I cannot describe, and repaid me, short as our interview was, for a world of woe which I was suffering on her account. I had been reckoning on the possibility of her arrival that Tuesday, when about two o'clock I received an express to go to sea immediately with all the ships that were ready, and had we not then been engaged at a court martial, I might have got out that day; but

this business delayed me till near night, and I determined to wait on shore until eight o'clock for the chance of their arrival. I went to dine with Lord Nelson; and while we were at dinner their arrival was announced to me. I flew to the inn where I had desired my wife to come, and found her and little Sarah as well after their journey as if it had lasted only for the day. No greater happiness is human nature capable of than was mine that evening; but at dawn we parted, and I went to sea. Lord St. Vincent has, however, been so good as to promise that I shall go to Plymouth whenever I can be spared from the fleet.

Barfleur, off Ushant, March 6, 1801.

You will have heard from Sarah what a meeting we had, how short our interview, and how suddenly we parted. It is grief to me to think of it now; it almost broke my heart then. After such a journey, to see me but for a few hours, with scarce time for her to relate the incidents of her journey, and no time for me to tell her half that my heart felt at such a proof of her affection; but I am thankful that I did see her and my sweet child. It was a blessing to me, and composed my mind, which was before very much agitated. I have little chance of seeing her again, unless a storm should drive us into port, for the French fleet is in a state of preparation, which makes it necessary for us to watch them narrowly. This cruise is the most tiresome of all I ever experienced; for, independently of the reasons which I now have for desiring to be in port, no regard is paid to letters coming or going, which was always an object of the first consideration with Lord Bridport, Lord St. Vincent, and Sir Allan Gardner. I do not know that one of the many letters I have written since my sailing is gone, and I have not heard from any one these

three weeks. Of public matters we know nothing, for we do not even get a newspaper. We are immured within the sides of our ships, and have no knowledge of the world or its ways.

Barfleur, off Brest, April 20, 1801.

I can still talk to you of nothing but the delight I experienced in the little I have had of the company of my beloved wife and of my little Sarah. What comfort is promised to me in the affections of that child, if it should please God that we ever again return to the quiet domestic cares of peace! I had written thus far when the account reached me of the action at Copenhagen, with the destruction of the Danish fleet, the death of that poor distracted Paul, and its consequences. This success has almost turned my head with joy. Now I hope we shall have peace. God Almighty has prospered our arms; and I trust that it is the justice of our cause, and the confidence with which we repose in him, that have brought these blessings on us. I should be much obliged to you if you would send Scott a guinea for me, for these hard times must pinch the poor old man, and he will miss my wife, who was very kind to him.

Barfleur, off Brest, October 16, 1801.

I cannot tell you how much joy the news of the peace gave me. The hope of returning to my family, and living in quiet and comfort among those I love, fills my heart with gladness. The tidings came to us at the happiest time. I was to take leave of my wife after breakfast, and we were both sad enough, when William came running in with one of his important faces on, and attempted to give his information in a speech; but, after two or three efforts, which were a confused huddle of inarticulate sounds, he managed to bring

out, Peace! Peace! which had just as good an effect as the finest oration he could have made on the subject. As I was obliged to sail, we parted in two hours after, but it was only to meet again very soon. I joined the fleet on the 13th, which was going on in the usual style, blockading Brest as closely as ever; and I think it probable we shall continue at sea till the fleet is to be dismantled, to prevent as much as possible the confusion which a multitude makes, all anxious for their discharge. We shall thus drop off gradually; and I hope by Christmas to have the pleasure of embracing you all.

The moment the French in Brest heard the preliminaries were signed, they sent out a flag of truce with the information to Admiral Cornwallis, and their congratulations on the approaching amity of the two countries. The English officer who was sent in with a return of the compliment was treated with the greatest hospitality and kindness, both by the French and Spanish. They feasted him all the time he staid there, and carried him to the plays and places of entertainment. I hope now we have seen the end of the last war that will be in our days, and that I shall be able to turn my mind to peaceful occupations. I must endeavour to find some employment, which, having at least the shew of business, may keep my mind engaged, and prevent that languor to which, from constitution, I am more subject than most people, but which never intrudes upon my full occupation. At present we know nothing of what is going on in England, for, though despatches are arriving and going from the Admiral daily, the fleet in general have no communication with those vessels, not even to the receiving or sending a letter, — so that I cannot tell when this will come to you. A letter to Sarah, which I wrote when I arrived here, is still by me. This suspension of correspondence is, perhaps, very proper at this time, preserving things

here in the same state until they are prepared for speedily disbanding us on our arrival in port.

I wish you would have the goodness to ask Mr. — how he proposes his son should proceed. I would recommend his taking him home, and putting him to a good mathematical school, perfecting him, under his own eye, in navigation, astronomy, mechanics, and fortification. He knows now enough of ships to make the application of what he learns easy to him; and when his head is well stocked, he will be able to find employment and amusement without having recourse to company, which is as often bad as good. He has sense and spirit enough to make a good officer and an honourable man; but he must make his studies a business, to which he must be entirely devoted: drawing is the best kind of recreation. If he be sent immediately to sea, he may become a good sailor, but not qualified to fill the higher offices of his profession, or to make his way to them.

How glad will my heart be to see you all at my own home! I look on the day to be at hand when I shall be very, very happy indeed.

Barfleur, Bear Haven, December 18, 1801.

Little has occurred since I wrote, beside the addition to our number of ships; the *Glory*, *Achille*, and *Orion* having joined us. It is with no hearty welcome, as you may believe, that we see ships still coming from England; but, indeed, I have now no hope of removing from hence until the definitive treaty be concluded, and peace firmly established. The Ministry want to send some ships abroad, to keep a force superior to that which the French may find necessary for the reduction of St. Domingo; but I fear there may be some opposition by the seamen, who will have great reluctance in

going abroad until the ships are re-manned by volunteers. We have experienced so much on that subject, that I have no doubt proper measures will be taken to prevent dissatisfaction.

Perhaps you may receive this letter about your birth-day : accept my congratulations on that occasion, and my hearty prayer that you may, in health and happiness, live to see many returns of it, and ever with them see peace blessing mankind. I look forward to enjoying great comfort amid my family for the rest of my life ; and hope that our schemes of quiet and domestic happiness will never again be interrupted by wars or seditions.

Spithead, February 1, 1802.

I am waiting for an easterly wind and better weather than we have lately had, to carry me to Torbay, whither I have been ordered some time ; and sincerely do I wish the treaty would come and conclude all our voyages.

Shortly after the date of this letter, Admiral Collingwood was enabled to return to his family at Morpeth, in Northumberland, and remained with them till the conclusion of the peace of Amiens. During this short period of happiness and rest he was occupied in superintending the education of his daughters, and in continuing those habits of study which had long been familiar to him. His reading was extensive, particularly in history ; and it was his constant practice to exercise himself in composition, by making abstracts from the books which he read : and some of his abridgments, with the observations by which he illustrated them, are written with singular conciseness and power. “ I know not,” said one of the most eminent English Diplomats, with whom he had afterwards very frequent

communications, "I know not where Lord Collingwood got his style, "but he writes better than any of us." His amusements were found in the intercourse with his family, in drawing, planting, and the cultivation of his garden, which was on the bank of the beautiful river Wansbeck. This was his favourite employment; and on one occasion, a brother Admiral, who had sought him through the garden in vain, at last discovered him with his gardener, old Scott, to whom he was much attached, in the bottom of a deep trench, which they were busily occupied in digging.

While, in cheerfulness and tranquillity, he was thus fully realising those hopes of happiness which he had so long entertained, hostilities with France recommenced; and in the spring of 1803 he was once more called away from his home, to which he never returned again. The exact date of his departure from the North does not appear; but in the narrative of his life, from which several extracts have already been made, he observes, "Since 1793 I have been only one year "at home. To my own children I am scarcely known; but while I "have health and strength to serve my Country, I consider that "health and strength to be its due; and if I serve it successfully, "as I have ever done faithfully, my children will not want for "friends."

In the early part of May he was sent, in the *Venerable*, to the squadron off Brest, under Admiral Cornwallis, who said, "Here comes "Collingwood, the last to leave and the first to rejoin me."

TO J. E. BLACKETT, ESQ.

Venerable, off Brest, August 9, 1803.

I am lying off the entrance of Brest Harbour, to watch the motions of the French fleet. Our information respecting

them is very vague, but we know they have four or five and twenty great ships, which makes it necessary to be alert, and keep our eyes open at all times. I therefore bid adieu to snug beds and comfortable naps at night, never lying down but in my clothes. Sarah's account of our improved house pleases me very much: I hope she will make it as comfortable as possible, and enjoy peace and happiness there; whatever may happen in the world abroad. It will cost a good deal of money, but I have provided for it, as I reckon the comforts of my wife among my chief luxuries; it is, indeed, the only one which my present situation will allow me to gratify.—We hear no news here, and cannot be in more complete seclusion from the world, with only one object in view,—that of preventing the French from doing harm.

The Admiral sends all the ships to me, and cruises off Ushant by himself; but with a westerly wind, it is impossible with one squadron to prevent ships getting into Brest Harbour; for it has two entrances, very distant from each other,—one to the south of the Saints, but which, off Ushant, where we are, is entirely out of view. I take the utmost pains to prevent all access, and an anxious time I have of it, what with tides and rocks, which have more of danger in them than a battle once a week. I have not heard yet what ship I am to have; and indeed, as I am at sea already, neither the Admiralty nor myself seem to care much about it, except that I should be glad that those gentlemen who have desired to serve with me should not be disappointed.

I have this moment received orders to send the Venerable in to replenish, and shall go myself on board the *Minotaur* till she returns, for I do not expect to go into port until the conclusion of the war.

During this time he frequently passed the whole night on the quarter-deck,—a practice which, in circumstances of difficulty, he continued till the latest years of his life. When, on these occasions, he has told his friend Lieutenant Clavell, who had gained his entire confidence, that they must not leave the deck for the night, and that officer has endeavoured to persuade him that there was no occasion for it, as a good look out was kept, and represented that he was almost exhausted with fatigue; the Admiral would reply, “I fear you are. You have need of rest; so go to bed, Clavell, and I will watch by myself.” Very frequently have they slept together on a gun, from which Admiral Collingwood would rise from time to time, to sweep the horizon with his night-glass, lest the enemy should escape in the dark.

TO THE SAME.

Venerable, off Ushant, October 10, 1803.

By my letter to Sarah you would hear that I am very well, and in great ease and comfort since I left the squadron in shore. It was a station of great anxiety, and required so constant a care and look out, that I have been often a week without having my clothes off, and was sometimes upon deck the whole night. I was there longer than was intended, for want of a proper successor, and saw all my squadron relieved more than once. I had a letter the other day from Sir R. Calder, off Ferrol, where the French have five great ships fitting, stores and provisions being sent to them from France, and they are helped out in what is wanting by the Spaniards; but we certainly shall not allow them to give this friendly aid to the enemy, while they will not permit us to take a little sand off the beach to scour the decks. Is this being in amity with us?—I think

that Buonaparte's experiment of the invasion will soon be made, and hope that it will not be held too lightly; for in that consists the only danger. They should not merely be repulsed, but with such exemplary vengeance as will deter them from any future attempt to subjugate our Country, and will give an example to all other nations how they also may preserve their independence. In the meantime, I do not know that this firing and bombing upon their coast is of any essential benefit, or whether it may not rather do harm, by accustoming them to a great fire with little injury. I have been eighteen weeks at sea, and have not a sick man in my ship; but now that the cold weather is beginning, I fear we shall feel the want of warm clothing. I am sure I shall; for when I sailed, I had not time to make a coat, and have only two, one of which is very old; but I did not suspect I should have been so long without the means of getting one.

TO THE SAME.

Venerable, Cawsand Bay, December 16, 1803.

I rejoice at the recovery of good Sir Edward, which indeed, considering his time of life, is marvellous; but a temperate habit, and a placid, gentle disposition, are fine anodynes,—they assuage pain and soften misfortune, and leave Nature free to work her wonders. Now for my miseries, of which I have a good store just now. I came in from sea with orders from the Admiral to refresh my ship's company, and, poor creatures, they have been almost worked to death ever since. We began by discovering slight defects in the ship; and the farther we went in the examination, the more important they appeared, until at last she was discovered to be so completely rotten as to be unfit for sea. We have been sailing for

the last six-months with only a sheet of copper between us and eternity. I have written to Lord St. Vincent to ask him for a sounder ship; but it deranges me exceedingly to be thus for ever changing.

TO THE SAME.

Culloden, off Ushant, February 28, 1804.

I received Sarah's letter yesterday, giving me an account of the death of your excellent brother, Sir Edward, and I most sincerely condole with you and uncle Harry on the loss of one of the kindest and most benevolent of men. We ought indeed to be thankful to God Almighty for having released him from a state of pain from which there was no prospect of recovery here; yet this, and the death of our good aunt Carlyle, make me very sad: for I see those that loved us going off, and leaving a blank in our friendships that can never again be filled. Poor Dr. Carlyle! I pity him very much: his home is desolate indeed, and he is at a time of life when domestic comforts are the only ones which are suited to his age. I was miserable when I first came into this ship; but things are now much mended, and in an orderly state. It has been a laborious job for poor Clavell; but he has done it well.

TO THE SAME.

Culloden, off Ushant, July 20, 1804.

Admiral Cornwallis left us the day before yesterday, and is gone to Spithead—I rather think not to return again. I dare say he is heartily tired of this cruising, as every body must be of such a life. Nothing but a sense of its being necessary for the safety of the Country, could make us support such a

deprivation of every thing which is pleasurable. I have had a good share of it; and whenever we are blessed with peace, I shall go ashore with extreme satisfaction, never to embark again. My chief anxiety now is to see my daughters well and virtuously educated, and I shall never think any thing too good for them if they are wise and good-tempered. Tell them, with my blessing, that I am much obliged to them for weeding my oaks. I have got a nurseryman here from Wrighton. It is a great pity that they should press such a man because when he was young he went to sea for a short time. They have broken up his good business at home, distressed his family, and sent him here, where he is of little or no service. I grieve for him, poor man!

TO THE SAME.

August 28, 1804.

We are going on here in our usual way, and nothing in nature can be more dull; but the French are preparing a great force to do something, and then we must put all the exertion of two or three years into one day's business. It seems odd, when you consider, that I have not seen a green leaf on a tree since I left Mrs. Hughes's, at Portsmouth, in June 1803, except indeed those of my own creation, in the drawing which I sent you some time ago, and which I hope you received. The want of exercise makes me very languid and low in spirits; but I hope we shall come into port this winter, and not be torn to tatters as we were last year. I wish Admiral Cornwallis were here again. A good deal has been said about his having it in contemplation to leave the fleet, and that Lord Duncan is coming to the command; but, in my opinion, there is no officer on the list who has the skill of Lord Gardner, and

it seems to me very strange that he is not appointed to any situation of importance.

TO THE SAME.

Dreadnought, off Rochefort, November 4, 1804.

I wrote to Sarah last week ; and as I shall send the Warrior in to refit, whenever the gale abates so far that I can have communication with her, I take this opportunity to thank you for your letter. It gave me great pleasure to hear that you were not only well in health, but amused and happy in the society of all my darlings. I pray God long to give you the enjoyment of those blessings !

I am really almost worn out with incessant fatigue and anxiety of mind. I am here watching the French squadron in Rochefort, but feel that it is not practicable to prevent their sailing, if it be their intention ; and yet, if they should get past me, I should be exceedingly mortified. At this moment, and for two days past, it has blown a hard gale of easterly wind, and we are driven thirty leagues from the port. The only thing that can prevent their sailing is the apprehension that they may run amongst us, as they cannot exactly know where we are, to avoid us. The ship which I am now in is a very fine strong ship, but has been ill fitted out ; for it was a part of Lord St. Vincent's economy to employ convicts to fit out the ships, instead of the men and officers who were to sail in them. The consequence is, that they are wanting in every kind of arrangement that skilful men would have made, and most of them have been obliged to be docked since their equipment, at a very great expense. We have made a dash at the Spaniards, which was certainly necessary to bring them to explanation of the kind of masked hostility which

they were carrying on ; but I still hope it will not be the cause of war, although it may give a check to the liberal supplies which they have furnished to France.

Of peace with France, I see no prospect : nothing less than a revolution in that country can rescue Europe from the tyranny of a military despot ; but God knows whether even that would be more than changing one tyrant for another. The army in that country is every thing—the people nothing, but as they are necessary to the support of that army, which is a complete subversion of order, and the most melancholy state to which society can be reduced. This dilatory war they carry on with us looks like design to continue it for a term of years ; and there is no power in Europe now of consequence enough to say that the peace of mankind shall no longer be disturbed. Russia cannot ; Prussia will not ; Austria dare not. All the rest must do as they are ordered.

TO THE SAME.

Dreadnought, off Ushant, February 4, 1805.

In the middle of last month we put into Torbay, where we were a week ; but the being in Torbay is no great relief, for no person or boat goes on shore. We visit our friends and neighbours in the fleet, but have no communication with the rest of the world, without they come on board, and take the chance of a cruise. The sailing of the enemy's squadron from Rochefort, and evading Sir Thomas Graves, seems to intimate that something is soon to be undertaken by them. It is not yet well ascertained where that squadron is ; but by the route in which they were seen, Brest seemed to be their destination, and if they are arrived there, it will be a proof how little practicable it

is to block up a port in winter. To sail from one blockaded port, and enter another where the whole fleet is, without being seen, does not come within the comprehension of the city politicians. Their idea is, that we are like sentinels standing at a door, who must see, and may intercept all who attempt to go into it. But so long as the ships are at sea they are content, little considering that every one of the blasts which we endure lessens the security of the Country. The last cruise disabled five large ships, and two more lately; several of them must be docked.

If the country gentlemen do not make it a point to plant oaks wherever they will grow, the time will not be very distant when, to keep our Navy, we must depend entirely on captures from the enemy. You will be surprised to hear that most of the knees which were used in the *Hibernia* were taken from the Spanish ships captured on the 14th February, and what they could not furnish was supplied by iron. I wish every body thought on this subject as I do; they would not walk through their farms without a pocket-full of acorns to drop in the hedge-sides, and then let them take their chance.

FROM LORD NELSON.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Victory, March 13, 1805.

Many, many thanks for your kind remembrance of me, and for your friendly good wishes, which, from my heart, I can say are reciprocal. I am certainly near going to England; for my constitution is much shook, and nothing has kept me here so long but the expectation of getting at the French fleet. I am told the Rochefort squadron sailed the same day as that from Toulon. Buonaparte has often made his boast that our fleet would be worn out by keeping the sea, and that his was kept in order and increasing

by staying in port ; but he now finds, I fancy, if emperors hear truth, that his fleet suffers more in a night than ours in one year. However, thank God, the Toulon fleet is got in order again, and I hear the troops embarked ; and I hope they will come to sea in fine weather. The moment the battle is over I shall cut ; and I must do the same, if I think, after some weeks, they do not intend to come out for the summer. We have had a very dull war, but I agree with you that it must change for a more active one. I beg, my dear Collingwood, that you will present my most respectful compliments to Mrs. Collingwood ; and believe me for ever and as ever, your most sincere and truly attached friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO J. E. BLACKETT, ESQ.

Dreadnought, April 9, 1805.

Lord Gardner joined us a week ago, to command the fleet in the absence of Admiral Cornwallis. I saw him yesterday for an hour or two, and was sorry to find him altered for the worse, old and out of spirits ; yet, I think, if he were established he would recover again, and be as active as ever, for there is no officer a more perfect master of the discipline of the fleet than he is. The French ships are perfectly ready for sea, and ten days since came out of Brest to Bertheaume road. We stood with our fleet, seventeen sail of us, close up to their twenty-one, but they did not shew any disposition to come from under their batteries.

My Captain has been laid up with the gout almost ever since we came out, so that I am forced to fag ; and without Clavell I should be very ill off.

I am delighted with your account of my children's improvement,

for it is a subject of the greatest anxiety to me. Above all things, keep novels out of their reach. They are the corrupters of tender minds; they exercise the imagination instead of the judgment; make them all desire to become the Julias and Cecilias of romance; and turn their heads before they are enabled to distinguish truth from fictions devised merely for entertainment. When they have passed their climacteric it will be time enough to begin novels.

Napoleon was now preparing to carry into execution that mighty project for the invasion of England, on which such diversity of opinion prevailed among the people of this Country: some regarding it as an empty menace, while others (among whom was Admiral Collingwood) were convinced that for the completion of these plans he would strain all the resources of his empire, and that on their success were centered the highest hopes of his ambition and revenge. Since the publication, however, by Count Dumas, of Napoleon's correspondence with M. Decrès, his Minister of Marine, all doubt upon this question has been removed; and amid the various disclosures which have been made respecting this extraordinary man, there is nothing more remarkable than the picture which is presented in that book of the unwearied attention with which, from the rupture of the peace of Amiens, till the final destruction of his hopes by the victory of Trafalgar, he was brooding over this project, arranging the successive departures of his squadrons, and endeavouring to transfer to the uncertain combinations of naval war a portion of that regularity and science by which he had traced the march of his armies. It was never his purpose to hazard the vast army and flotilla which he had collected at Boulogne, unless he should have been previously enabled to draw the English squadrons

from the Channel, and to appear there himself with an overpowering force of line-of-battle ships. “Que nous soyons,” he observed in one of his despatches, “maîtres du Déroit six heures, et nous serons “maîtres du monde.” To effect this object, the fleets of France and Spain were to put to sea whenever they could escape unnoticed; and he endeavoured, by inserting false news into the journals, by marching troops towards points which were not intended to be attacked, by menacing Egypt and India, and by the practice of every species of deception, to delude the English squadrons into a distant and unavailing pursuit. Expeditions were to be sent against St. Helena! Goree, and Surinam; they were to present themselves before every roadstead, and to spread alarm at once through Asia, Africa, and America. “Je désire que vous fassiez mettre dans les journaux que “de grandes nouvelles sont arrivées des Indes; qu’on sait seulement “que les affaires des Anglais vont fort mal.”—“Je menacerai l’Egypte “de tant de manières, et si évidemment, qu’ils craindront un grand “coup; ils croiront que mes escadres vont aux Indes Orientales.”—“L’Egypte leur donnera alors une alarme épouvantable. J’ai une “armée prête à Tarente, et j’y ai un million de rations de biscuit.”*

Lord Nelson defeated this plan, not less by the judgment and promptitude with which he twice followed Admiral Villeneuve across the Atlantic, than by his genius and heroism in the battle of Trafalgar; but the false information which had been thrown in his way had not been without its effect. His passage down to Egypt, while the French fleet was escaping through the Straits of Gibraltar, is well known; and that at times he was meditating to sail to the East Indies, appears from some passages in his letters. On the 19th of

* Précis des Evénemens Militaires, vol. xi.

April, when writing to Lord Melville, he says, " I shall pursue the " enemy to the East or West Indies, if I know that to have been their " destination." And again, after his return to Gibraltar, " I shall be " in Tetuan on the 22d; and twenty-four hours will then complete " us for an East India voyage." This passage occurs in one of the following letters to Admiral Collingwood, who, on the sailing of the enemy's fleet from Toulon, had been appointed to a squadron with orders to go in pursuit of the enemy; or in the event of receiving information that they were followed by Lord Nelson, to make such a disposition as should appear best. Admiral Collingwood arrived off Cape Finisterre, May 27, and fell in with Sir R. Bickerton, which induced him to take a station off Cadiz, to prevent any progress of the Spaniards; and on the day of his arrival there he detached two of his fastest sailing ships, the *Ramilies* and *Illustrious*, to Barbadoes, in hopes of their joining Lord Nelson.*

FROM LORD NELSON.

MY DEAR COLLINGWOOD,

Victory, Gibraltar, July 18, 1805.

I am, as you may suppose, miserable at not having fallen in with the enemy's fleet; but for false information the battle would have been fought where Rodney fought his, on June the 6th. I must now only hope that the enemy have not tricked me, and gone to Jamaica; but if the account, of which I send you a copy, is correct, it is more than probable they are either gone to the northward, or, if bound to the Mediterranean, are not yet arrived. The Spaniards, or the greatest part of them, I take for granted are gone to the Havannah, and, I suppose, have taken fourteen sail of

* Clarke and Macarthur, vol. ii. p. 416.

Antigua sugar-loaded ships with them. The moment the fleet is watered and has got some refreshments, of which we are in great want, I shall come out and make you a visit, — not, my dear friend, to take your command from you, (for I may probably add mine to you,) but to consult how we can best serve our Country by detaching a part of this large force. God bless you, my dear friend, and believe me ever most affectionately yours,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

FROM THE SAME.

Victory, Gibraltar, July 20, 1805.

The Martin sloop arrived this morning; and, as Captain Savage says that the Pickle schooner left the fleet before him for Gibraltar, I fear some accident has happened to her. I shall be in Tetuan on the 22d; and twenty-four hours will then complete us for an East India voyage; and I shall see you as soon as possible.

In the mean time, in pursuance of the scheme of Napoleon, the combined fleets, after spreading alarm through the West Indies, were returning towards Ferrol. “ Mon intention est,” he says, “ si Villeneuve a sous ses commandemens au moins 20 vaisseaux qu’il vienne au Ferrol, ou il trouvera certainement 15 vaisseaux Français et Espagnols, et avec ces 35 vaisseaux qu’il se presente devant Brest, où, sans entrer, il sera joint par l’Amiral Gantheaume et avec les 56 vaisseaux, que lui formera cette jonction, qu’il entre dans le canal.” The invasion of Ireland formed a part of this plan. A squadron was to land 18,000 men to the north of the Bay of Loughswilly; then passing round Scotland, to appear off Boulogne, or go to the Texel, where they would find seven Dutch sail

of the line and 27,000 men, which they were to take back to Ireland. "Une des deux questions," he observes, "doit réussir; et alors que j'aie trente ou quarante mille hommes en Irlande, soit que je sois en Angleterre ou en Irlande, le gain de la guerre sera pour nous."—"Si votre presence," as he writes to Admiral Villeneuve, "nous rende maîtres de la mer pendant trois jours devant Boulogne, nous avons toute faculté de faire notre expédition, composée de 160,000 hommes, embarqués sur deux mille bâtimens."

"Mon opinion est," says Napoleon more than once, "que Collingwood est parti, et est allé aux Grandes Indes:" but that the Admiral, on the contrary, had penetrated into the real secret of these plans, will be seen from the following letter, which might almost seem to have been a transcript from Napoleon's despatch to his Minister of Marine.

TO LORD NELSON.

July 21, 1805.

We approached, my dear Lord, with caution, not knowing whether we were to expect you or the Frenchmen first. I have always had an idea that Ireland alone was the object they have in view, and still believe that to be their ultimate destination. They will now liberate the Ferrol squadron from Calder, make the round of the bay, and, taking the Rochefort people with them, appear off Ushant, perhaps with thirty-four sail, there to be joined by twenty more. This appears a probable plan; for unless it be to bring their powerful fleets and armies to some great point of service—some rash attempt at conquest—they have only been subjecting them to chance of loss, which I do not believe the Corsican would do without the hope of an adequate reward. The French Government never aim

at little things while great objects are in view. I have considered the invasion of Ireland as the real mark and butt of all their operations. Their flight to the West Indies was to take off the naval force, which proved the great impediment to their undertaking. This summer is big with events: we may all perhaps have an active share in them; and I sincerely wish your Lordship strength of body to go through it, and to all others your strength of mind.

FROM LORD NELSON.

MY DEAR COLLINGWOOD,

Victory, July 25, 1805.

We are in a fresh levanter, you have a westerly wind,—therefore I must forego the pleasure of taking you by the hand until October next, when, if I am well enough, I shall (if the Admiralty please) resume the command. I am very far from well, but I am anxious that not a moment of the services of this fleet should be lost. I feel disappointed, my dear friend, at not seeing you, so does Admiral Murray, and many, I am sure, in this fleet. May God bless you, and send you alongside of the Santissima Trinidad, and let me see you in perfect health; and ever believe me, my dear Collingwood,

Your most faithful and affectionate friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO J. E. BLACKETT, ESQ.

Dreadnought, off Cadiz, August 9, 1805.

I have just time to tell you that I am as well as can be, and in great expectation that we shall have a rattling day of it very soon. The Spaniards are completely ready here; they have 4000 troops embarked: at Carthagera they have many more, and a

strong squadron. Whenever they come, Sir R. Bickerton is to join me with his ships, and then there will be two to one; but we must beat them, or — never come home; and yet I intend it fully. A dull superiority creates languor; it is a state like this that rouses the spirits, and makes us feel as if the welfare of all England depended on us alone. You shall not be disappointed.

TO MRS. COLLINGWOOD.

Dreadnought, off Cadiz, August 21, 1805.

I have very little time to write to you, but must tell you what a squeeze we had like to have got yesterday. While we were cruising off the town, down came the combined fleet of thirty-six sail of men of war: we were only three poor things, with a frigate and a bomb, and drew off towards the Straits, not very ambitious, as you may suppose, to try our strength against such odds. They followed us as we retired, with sixteen large ships; but on our approaching the Straits they left us, and joined their friends in Cadiz, where they are fitting and replenishing their provisions. We, in our turn, followed them back, and to-day have been looking into Cadiz, where their fleet is now as thick as a wood. I hope I shall have somebody come to me soon, and in the mean time I must take the best care of myself I can. This is a comfortless station, on which it is difficult to procure refreshment, except the grapes which the Portuguese bring us. But this being for ever at sea wears me down; and if I had not Clavell with me I should be ten times worse, for he is the person in whom my confidence is principally placed.

Pray tell me all you can think about our family, and about the beauties of your domain, — the oaks, the woodlands, and the verdant meads.

The skill with which Admiral Collingwood conducted his small squadron in the presence of this overpowering force, was the subject of much admiration at the time. Although the Dreadnought was a very heavy sailer, he kept just out of gun-shot, on the edge of the current, saying, "I am determined they shall not drive me through the Straits, unless they follow me." When the pursuers, perceiving his object, tacked, the English ships tacked after them. This occurred more than once; till at length the enemy made all sail for Cadiz, and Admiral Collingwood following them, arrived off the harbour before half of them had got in, and with his three vessels resumed the blockade.

In order to conceal the inferiority of his force, he stationed one of his ships in the offing, which from time to time made signals as if to a fleet in the distance; but afterwards, when he was reinforced, he established a strict blockade of the small ports lying between Cape St. Mary's and Algeziras,—a measure to which he attributed the ultimate sailing of the combined fleets.

Napoleon, as appears in Count Dumas's work, had caused great quantities of biscuit and other stores to be collected at Brest, Rochefort, and Ferrol; but as he had never contemplated his fleet being turned to the southward and entering Cadiz, which was the very important result of Sir Robert Calder's action, he had made no provision at that port for the supply of so large a force. Neutral vessels were accordingly employed in transporting the necessary stores from Nantes to the smaller ports in the neighbourhood of Cadiz; and the stoppage of these supplies, by the extension of the blockade, left the combined fleets in a state of privation, which at last compelled them to put to sea.

TO J. E. BLACKETT, ESQ.

Dreadnought, off Cadiz, September 21, 1805.

As a ship will return to England in a few days, I will not lose the opportunity of writing to you, though I have little hope of an answer, for I never hear from England. Even the Admiralty seem to have abandoned me to my own devices; but I am going on very well, and with God's blessing I hope to continue so. The combined fleet in Cadiz is perfectly complete, I believe, now; for the last of the ships that wanted repair came into the bay yesterday. They have thirty-four sail of the line, and I have enough whenever they choose to try their skill. It would be a happy day that would relieve me from this perpetual cruising, which is really wearing me to a lath. The great difficulty I have, is to keep up the health of the men; and it is a subject that requires an unremitted attention, of which we seldom find any person disposed to take the trouble. We get good beef from the Moors; but to bring it requires a number of ships, which I can ill spare. Two hundred bullocks do not serve us a week, and a transport laden with wine about a month. How we are to keep up our water I do not know.

How happy should I be, could I but hear from home, and know how my dear girls are going on! Bounce is my only pet now, and he is indeed a good fellow: he sleeps by the side of my cot, whenever I lie in one, until near the time of tacking, and then marches off, to be out of the hearing of the guns, for he is not reconciled to them yet. I am fully determined, if I can get home and manage it properly, to go on shore next spring for the rest of my life; for I am very weary. There is no end to my business: I am at work from morning till even; but I dare say Lord Nelson will be out next

month. He told me he should; and then what will become of me I do not know. I should wish to go home; but I must go or stay as the exigencies of the times require. This, with all its labour, is a most unprofitable station; but that is not a consideration of much moment to me. What I look to as the first and great object, is to defeat the projects of this combined fleet, of whom I can get little information; but I watch them narrowly, and if they come out will fight them merrily; for on their discomfiture depends the safety of England, and it shall not fail in my hands if I can help it.

FROM LORD NELSON.

MY DEAR COLL,

Admiralty, September 7, 1805.

I shall be with you in a very few days, and I hope you will remain second in command. You will change the Dreadnought for Royal Sovereign, which I hope you will like.

FROM THE SAME.

Victory, September 25, 1805.

I send forward the Euryalus to announce my approach, and to request that if you are in sight of Cadiz, that not only no salute may take place, but also that no colours may be hoisted: for it is as well not to proclaim to the enemy every ship which may join the fleet.

If Euryalus joins before I am in sight, I wish you would make something look out for us towards Cape St. Mary's, which I shall make, if the wind is to the northward of west.

I would not have any salute, even if you are out of sight of land.

FROM THE SAME.

Victory, October 6, 1805.

I send you Blackwood's letters, and some for the Admiralty, for you to read. How I long for the frigates! You have done right: twenty-six sail of the line were not to be left to chance: and if you had, for want of such precaution, been forced to quit the vicinity of Cadiz, England would not have forgiven you.

I send you a key to the box: keep it. I shall send you despatches, &c. occasionally, to read, and it will save the trouble of packets. Put your letter in it, and send it back with my letters when read.

Telegraph upon all occasions without ceremony. We are one, and I hope ever shall be.

Eurydice has captured a very fine privateer, of two 24-pounders; and taken some craft; but in doing it the Eurydice got on shore, and was got off principally by the exertion of our friend Captain Thomas.

TO LORD NELSON.

October 6, 1805.

We shall have these fellows out at last, my dear Lord. I firmly believe they have discovered that they cannot be subsisted in Cadiz: their supply from France is completely cut off. And now, my Lord, I will give you my ideas. If the enemy are to sail with an easterly wind, they are not bound to the Mediterranean; and your Lordship may depend on it, the Carthagená squadron is intended to join them. If they effect that, and with a strong easterly wind they may, they will present themselves to us with forty sail. Should Louis, by any good fortune, fall in with the Carthagená squadron, I am sure he would turn them to leeward; for they would expect the whole

fleet was after them. Whenever the Carthagena people were expected they opened the light-house.

FROM LORD NELSON.

October 9, 1805.

I send you Captain Blackwood's letter; and as I hope Weazle has joined, he will have five frigates and a brig. They surely cannot escape us. I wish we could get a fine day. I send you my plan of attack, as far as a man dare venture to guess at the very uncertain position the enemy may be found in: but, my dear friend, it is to place you perfectly at ease respecting my intentions, and to give full scope to your judgment for carrying them into effect. We can, my dear Coll, have no little jealousies: we have only one great object in view,—that of annihilating our enemies, and getting a glorious peace for our Country. No man has more confidence in another than I have in you; and no man will render your services more justice than your very old friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

The generous and noble spirit which Lord Nelson displayed towards all who were connected with him in service, and which is so finely manifested in the preceding letter, was fully appreciated by Admiral Collingwood. The intended plan of attack had also his most cordial concurrence; for it was an observation which he had long been in the habit of repeating, that with a great number of ships to act in one line was a positive disadvantage, both in loss of time and application of power.

When leaving the Dreadnought for the Royal Sovereign, he expressed his hope that it would not be long before he should have

an opportunity of shewing Lord Nelson that his confidence had not been misplaced. "I have had a little distress," he added, "about two Lieutenants being senior to my First Lieutenant, Clavell, who is indeed my right arm, and the spirit that puts every thing in motion; but I hope your Lordship will appoint them to this ship, and then I will take my Signal Lieutenant also, whose name is Brice Gilliland."*

FROM LORD NELSON.

Victory, October 10, 1805.

You will receive the commissions and order as you desired. 'I think we are near enough: for if the weather is fine, and we are in sight, they never will move; and should it turn bad, we may be forced into the Mediterranean, and thus leave them at liberty to go to the westward, although at present I am sure the Mediterranean is their destination.

FROM THE SAME.

Victory, October 10, 1805.

The enemy's fleet are all but out of the harbour: perhaps this night, with the northerly wind, they may come forth. The Admiralty could not do less than call your conduct judicious. Every body in England admired your adroitness in not being forced unnecessarily into the Straits.

* Clarke and Macarthur.

FROM THE SAME.

Victory, October 13.

The Rochefort squadron has been seen in lat. 41° 43', near Oporto, with several prizes with them. If they cannot get to Vigo, I should not be surprised if they put for the Mediterranean, or try to get into Cadiz, unless they go to Lisbon. Upon looking at the chart I see they can get into Vigo. The Oporto convoy is, I fear, taken, and Agamemnon and l'Aimable had a narrow escape.

To this letter is the following note by Admiral Collingwood :—

“ A look-out brig reconnoitred the squadron, while the Rochefort ships were at no great distance without : they wished to get into Cadiz, but would not venture to pass the fleet.”

FROM THE SAME.

Victory, October 14, 1805.

Perhaps, as the weather is fine, and the business of the transports nearly closed, you will come on board this forenoon, that I may tell you all I know, and all my intentions. I am glad Sir Robert Calder is gone ; and from my heart I hope he will get home safe, and end his inquiry well. I endeavoured to give him all the caution in my power respecting the cry against him.

FROM THE SAME.

Victory, October 19.

It was the Rochefort squadron that took the Calcutta. Yesterday, by the Guernsey-man, we had the French officer

on board. He belonged to the *Magnanimous*, and says that they should have taken the *Agamemnon* in the night, but they fancied the *Oporto* and *Lisbon* convoy were ships of war. The first-rate sails faster than any of them; five sail of the line, three frigates, and two brigs. Sir Richard has five sail; but I think he will have enough on his hands, and from my soul I wish him well over it.

What a beautiful day! Will you be tempted out of your ship? If you will, hoist the *Assent* and *Victory's* pendants.

I had a letter from Sir James Saumarez yesterday, of October 1st. He sent me some papers: I take it very kind of him.

Ever, my dear Coll,

Yours most faithfully,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

This is the last letter which that great man ever wrote; and annexed to it is this note of Admiral Collingwood's:—

“ Before the answer to this letter had got to the *Victory*, the “ signal was made that the enemy's fleet was coming out of *Cadiz*, “ and we chased immediately.”

TO W. MARSDEN, ESQ.

Euryalus, off Cape Trafalgar, October 22, 1805.

The ever-to-be-lamented death of Vice-admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, who, in the late conflict with the enemy, fell in the hour of victory, leaves me the duty of informing my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that on the 19th instant it was communicated to the Commander-in-chief, from the ships watching the motions of the enemy in *Cadiz*, that the combined fleet had put

to sea. As they sailed with light winds westerly, his Lordship concluded their destination was the Mediterranean, and immediately made all sail for the Straits' entrance, with the British squadron, consisting of twenty-seven ships, three of them sixty-fours, where his Lordship was informed by Captain Blackwood, (whose vigilance in watching and giving notice of the enemy's movements has been highly meritorious), that they had not yet passed the Straits.

On Monday, the 21st instant, at daylight, when Cape Trafalgar bore E. by S. about seven leagues, the enemy was discovered six or seven miles to the eastward, the wind about west, and very light. The Commander-in-chief immediately made the signal for the fleet to bear up in two columns, as they are formed in order of sailing; a mode of attack his Lordship had previously directed, to avoid the inconvenience and delay in forming a line of battle in the usual manner. The enemy's line consisted of thirty-three ships (of which eighteen were French, and fifteen Spanish, commanded in chief by Admiral Villeneuve, the Spaniards under the direction of Gravina), wore with their heads to the northward, and formed their line of battle with great closeness and correctness. But as the mode of attack was unusual, so the structure of their line was new: it formed a crescent convexing to leeward; so that in leading down to their centre, I had both their van and rear abaft the beam before the fire opened. Every alternate ship was about a cable's length to windward of her second ahead and astern, forming a kind of double line, and appeared, when on their beam, to leave a very little interval between them, and this without crowding their ships. Admiral Villeneuve was in the *Bucentaure* in the centre, and the *Prince of Asturias* bore Gravina's flag in the rear; but the French and Spanish ships were mixed, without any apparent regard to order of national squadron.

As the mode of our attack had been previously determined on, and communicated to the flag officers and captains, few signals were necessary, and none were made, except to direct close order as the lines bore down. The Commander-in-chief, in the *Victory*, led the weather column, and the *Royal Sovereign*, which bore my flag, the lee. The action began at twelve o'clock, by the leading ships of the columns breaking through the enemy's line; the Commander-in-chief about the tenth ship from the van; the second in command about the twelfth from the rear, leaving the van of the enemy unoccupied; the succeeding ships breaking through in all parts, astern of their leaders, and engaging the enemy at the muzzles of their guns. The conflict was severe: the enemy's ships were fought with a gallantry highly honourable to their officers; but the attack on them was irresistible, and it pleased the Almighty Disposer of all events to grant his Majesty's arms a complete and glorious victory. About three p. m. many of the enemy's ships, having struck their colours, their line gave way; Admiral Gravina, with ten ships joining their frigates to leeward, stood towards Cadiz. The five headmost ships in their van tacked, and standing to the southward, to windward of the British line, were engaged, and the sternmost of them taken; the others went off, leaving to his Majesty's squadron nineteen ships of the line (of which two are first-rates, the *Santissima Trinidad*, and the *Santa Anna*), with three flag-officers, viz. Admiral Villeneuve, the Commander-in-chief; Don Ignacio Maria d'Alava, Vice-admiral; and Rear-admiral Don Baltazar Hidalgo Cisneros.

After such a victory it may appear unnecessary to enter into encomiums on the particular parts taken by the several commanders; the conclusion says more on the subject than I have language to express. The spirit which animated all was the same: when all exert

themselves zealously in their Country's service, all deserve that their high merits should stand recorded; and never was high merit more conspicuous than in the battle I have described.

The Achille, a French seventy-four, after having surrendered, by some mismanagement of the Frenchmen, took fire and blew up: two hundred of her men were saved by the tenders. A circumstance occurred during the action, which so strongly marks the invincible spirit of British seamen, when engaging the enemies of their Country, that I cannot resist the pleasure I have in making it known to their Lordships. The Temeraire was boarded, by accident or design, by a French* ship on one side and a Spaniard on the other; the contest was vigorous; but in the end, the combined ensigns were torn from the poops, and the British hoisted in their places.

Such a battle could not be fought without our sustaining a great loss of men. I have not only to lament, in common with the British Navy and the British Nation, in the fall of the Commander-in-Chief, the loss of a hero, whose name will be immortal, and his memory ever dear to his Country; but my heart is rent with the most poignant grief for the death of a friend, to whom, by many years of intimacy, and a perfect knowledge of the virtues of his mind, which inspired ideas superior to the common race of men, I was bound by the strongest ties of affection,—a grief, to which even the glorious occasion in which he fell does not bring the consolation which, perhaps, it ought. His Lordship received a musket-ball in his left breast, about the middle of the action, and sent an officer to me immediately with his last farewell, and soon after expired. I have also to lament the loss of those excellent officers, Captain Duff, of

* Subsequent information has proved this statement wanted confirmation.

the Mars, and Cooke, of the Bellerophon: I have yet heard of none others.

I fear the numbers that have fallen will be found very great when the returns come to me; but it has blown a gale of wind ever since the action, and I have not yet had it in my power to collect any reports from the ships. The Royal Sovereign having lost her masts, except the tottering foremast, I called the Euryalus to me while the action continued, which ship, lying within hail, made my signals,—a service Captain Blackwood performed with very great attention. After the action I shifted my flag to her, that I might the more easily communicate my orders to, and collect the ships, and towed the Royal Sovereign out to seaward. The whole fleet were now in a very perilous situation; many dismasted, all shattered, in thirteen fathom water, off the shoals of Trafalgar; and when I made the signal to prepare to anchor, few of the ships had an anchor to let go, their cables being shot. But the same good Providence which aided us through such a day, preserved us in the night, by the wind shifting a few points and drifting the ships off the land, except four of the captured dismasted ships, which are now at anchor off Trafalgar, and I hope will ride safe until the gales are over.

Having thus detailed the proceedings of the fleet on this occasion, I beg to congratulate their Lordships on a victory, which, I hope, will add a ray to the glory of his Majesty's crown, and be attended with public benefit to our Country.

I am, &c.

In this letter, Admiral Collingwood has, with singular modesty, been silent respecting his own achievements; but his personal conduct on that memorable day well deserves to be recorded. It has been said,

that no man is a hero in the eyes of his valet-de-chambre ; but that this is not universally true, is proved by the account which was given to the Editor by Mr. Smith, Admiral Collingwood's valued servant. " I entered the Admiral's cabin," he observed, " about daylight, and " found him already up and dressing. He asked if I had seen the " French fleet ; and on my replying that I had not, he told me to " look out at them, adding that, in a very short time, we should " see a great deal more of them. I then observed a crowd of ships " to leeward ; but I could not help looking with still greater interest " at the Admiral, who, during all this time, was shaving himself " with a composure that quite astonished me." Admiral Collingwood dressed himself that morning with peculiar care ; and soon after, meeting Lieutenant Clavell, advised him to pull off his boots. " You had better," he said, " put on silk stockings, as I have done : " for if one should get a shot in the leg, they would be so much more " manageable for the surgeon." He then proceeded to visit the decks, encouraged the men to the discharge of their duty, and addressing the officers, said to them, " Now, gentlemen, let us do " something to-day which the world may talk of hereafter."

He had changed his flag about ten days before the action, from the Dreadnought ; the crew of which had been so constantly practised in the exercise of the great guns, under his daily superintendence, that few ships' companies could equal them in rapidity and precision of firing. He was accustomed to tell them, that if they could fire three well-directed broadsides in five minutes, no vessel could resist them ; and, from constant practice, they were enabled to do so in three minutes and a half. But though he left a crew which had thus been disciplined under his own eye, there was an advantage in the change ; for the Royal Sovereign, into which he went, had lately returned from

England, and as her copper was quite clean, she much outsailed the other ships of the lee division. Lord Nelson had made the Royal Sovereign's signal to pass through the enemy's line at the twelfth ship from the rear; but Admiral Collingwood observing her to be a two-decked ship, and that the second astern of her was a first-rate, deviated so far from the order as to proceed to the attack of this last, which carried Admiral Alava's flag. While they were running down, the well-known telegraphic signal was made of, "England expects every man to do his duty." When the Admiral observed it first, he said that he wished Nelson would make no more signals, for they all understood what they were to do; but when the purport of it was communicated to him, he expressed great delight and admiration, and made it known to the officers and ship's company. Lord Nelson had been requested by Captain Blackwood (who was anxious for the preservation of so invaluable a life) to allow some other vessels to take the lead, and at last gave permission that the Temeraire should go a-head of him; but resolving to defeat the order which he had given, he crowded more sail on the Victory, and maintained his place. The Royal Sovereign was far in advance when Lieutenant Clavell observed that the Victory was setting her studding sails, and with that spirit of honourable emulation which prevailed between the squadrons, and particularly between these two ships, he pointed it out to Admiral Collingwood, and requested his permission to do the same. "The ships of our line," replied the Admiral, "are not yet sufficiently up for us to do so now; but you may be getting ready." The studding sail and royal halliards were accordingly manned, and in about ten minutes the Admiral, observing Lieutenant Clavell's eyes fixed upon him with a look of expectation, gave him a nod; on

which that officer went to Captain Rotheram and told him that the Admiral desired him to make all sail. The order was then given to rig out and hoist away, and in one instant the ship was under a crowd of sail, and went rapidly ahead. The Admiral then directed the officers to see that all the men lay down on the decks, and were kept quiet. At this time the *Fougueux*, the ship astern of the *Santa Anna*, had closed up, with the intention of preventing the *Royal Sovereign* from going through the line; and when Admiral Collingwood observed it, he desired Captain Rotheram to steer immediately for the Frenchman and carry away his bowsprit. To avoid this, the *Fougueux* backed her main top-sail, and suffered the *Royal Sovereign* to pass, at the same time beginning her fire; when the Admiral ordered a gun to be occasionally fired at her, to cover his ship with smoke.

The nearest of the English ships was now distant about a mile from the *Royal Sovereign*; and it was at this time, while she was pressing alone into the midst of the combined fleets, that Lord Nelson said to Captain Blackwood, "See how that noble fellow, Collingwood, takes his ship into action. How I envy him!" On the other hand, Admiral Collingwood, well knowing his commander and friend, observed, "What would Nelson give to be here!" and it was then, too, that Admiral Villeneuve, struck with the daring manner in which the leading ships of the English squadrons came down, despaired of the issue of the contest. In passing the *Santa Anna*, the *Royal Sovereign* gave her a broadside and a half into her stern, tearing it down, and killing and wounding 400 of her men; then, with her helm hard a-starboard, she ranged up alongside so closely that the lower yards of the two vessels were locked together. The Spanish Admiral, having

seen that it was the intention of the Royal Sovereign to engage to leeward, had collected all his strength on the starboard; and such was the weight of the Santa Anna's metal, that her first broadside made the Sovereign heel two streaks out of the water. Her studding-sails and halliards were now shot away; and as a top-gallant studding-sail was hanging over the gangway hammocks, Admiral Collingwood called out to Lieutenant Clavell to come and help him to take it in, observing that they should want it again some other day. These two officers accordingly rolled it carefully up and placed it in the boat.*

In about a quarter of an hour, and before any other English ship had been enabled to take a part in the action, Captain Rotheram, whose bravery on this occasion was remarkable even among the instances of courage which the day displayed, came up to the Admiral, and shaking him by the hand, said, "I congratulate you, Sir: she is slackening her fire, and must soon strike." It was, indeed, expected on board the Royal Sovereign, that they would have had the gratification of capturing the Spanish Admiral in the midst of a fleet of thirty-three sail, before the arrival of another English ship; but the Santa Anna, though exposed to a tremendous loss from the unremitting fire of the Sovereign, and unable to do more than to return a gun at intervals, maintained the conflict in the most determined manner,

* Of his economy, at all times, of the ship's stores, a former instance was often mentioned in the Navy as having occurred at the battle of St. Vincent. The Excellent shortly before the action had bent a new fore-top-sail: and when she was closely engaged with the St. Isidro, Captain Collingwood called out to his Boatswain, a very gallant man, who was shortly afterwards killed, "Bless me! Mr. Peffers, how came we to forget to bend our old top-sail? They will quite ruin that new one. It will never be worth a farthing again."

relying on the assistance of the neighbouring ships, which now crowded round the English vessel, hoping, doubtless, to destroy her before she could be supported by her friends. The *Fougueux* placed herself on the *Sovereign's* lee quarter, and another two-decked French ship across her bow; while two Spanish ships were also on her bow: a number probably greater than could fire at a single ship without injuring each other.

The Admiral now directed Captain Vallack, of the *Marines*, an officer of the greatest gallantry, to take his men from off the poop, that they might not be unnecessarily exposed; but he remained there himself much longer. At length, descending to the quarter-deck, he visited the men, enjoining them not to fire a shot in waste, looking himself along the guns to see that they were properly pointed, and commending the sailors, particularly a black man, who was afterwards killed, but who, while he stood beside him, fired ten times directly into the port-hole of the *Santa Anna*. The *Fougueux* at one time got so much on the quarter of the *Sovereign*, that she almost touched, when the English quarter-deck carronades were brought to bear upon her, and after receiving several double-shotted guns directly into her forecastle, she dropped a little astern. Being there out of the *Royal Sovereign's* reach, she kept up a destructive, raking fire, till the *Tonnant* arrived and took her.

During such an action, it is impossible that the actual time of any particular occurrence can be satisfactorily ascertained; and a very distinguished officer told the Editor, that from the manner in which his mind was occupied, it seemed to him as if the battle had only lasted half an hour. There is, accordingly, great diversity of opinion as to the exact period during which the *Royal Sovereign* was engaged alone. Admiral Collingwood considered it to be twenty minutes,

while others believe that it considerably exceeded that time. In the mean while the English ships were pressing forward with their utmost speed in support of their leader, but doubtful at times of his fate, and rejoicing when, on the slackening of the Santa Anna's fire, they discerned his flag still flying above the smoke. One of his most gallant followers and friends, the Captain of the Tonnant, has often expressed the astonishment with which he regarded the Royal Sovereign as she opened her fire, which, as he declared, so arrested his attention, that he felt for a few moments as if he himself had nothing to do but to look on and admire

The Santa Anna struck at half-past two o'clock, about the time when the news of Lord Nelson's wound was communicated to Admiral Collingwood; but the Royal Sovereign had been so much injured in her masts and yards by the ships that lay on her bow and quarter, that she was unable to alter her position. Admiral Collingwood accordingly called the Euryalus to take her in tow, and make the necessary signals. He despatched Captain Blackwood to convey the Spanish Admiral on board the Euryalus, but he was stated to be at the point of death, and Captain Blackwood returned with the Spanish Captain. That officer had already been to the Royal Sovereign to deliver his sword, and on entering had asked one of the English sailors the name of the ship. When he was told that it was the Royal Sovereign, he replied, in broken English, while patting one of the guns with his hand, "I think she should be called "the Royal Devil." The action was still general, when Captain Blackwood, to whom Admiral Collingwood had communicated the intelligence of Lord Nelson's wound, and who was anxious to fulfil his promise of revisiting his friend, proceeded to the Victory. On his arrival, he saw the boat alongside which had carried the news

to Admiral Collingwood, and on inquiry was told that Lord Nelson was still alive; but on hastening below, he found that the hero had just expired.

GENERAL ORDER.

Euryalus, October 22, 1805.

The ever-to-be-lamented death of Lord Viscount Nelson, Duke of Bronte, the Commander-in-Chief, who fell in the action of the 21st, in the arms of Victory, covered with glory, — whose memory will be ever dear to the British Navy and the British Nation, whose zeal for the honour of his King and for the interest of his Country, will be ever held up as a shining example for a British seaman, — leaves to me a duty to return my thanks to the Right Honourable Rear-Admiral, the Captains, Officers, Seamen, and Detachments of Royal Marines, serving on board His Majesty's squadron, now under my command, for their conduct on that day. But where can I find language to express my sentiments of the valour and skill which were displayed by the Officers, the Seamen, and Marines, in the battle with the enemy, where every individual appeared a hero on whom the glory of his Country depended. The attack was irresistible, and the issue of it adds to the page of naval annals a brilliant instance of what Britons can do, when their King and their Country need their service.

To the Right Honourable Rear-Admiral the Earl of Northesk, to the Captains, Officers, and Seamen, and to the Officers, non-commissioned Officers, and Privates of the Royal Marines, I beg to give my sincere and hearty thanks for their highly meritorious conduct, both in the action, and in their zeal and activity in bringing the captured ships out from the perilous situation in which they were,

after their surrender, among the shoals of Trafalgar, in boisterous weather. And I desire that the respective Captains will be pleased to communicate to the Officers, Seamen, and Royal Marines, this public testimony of my high approbation of their conduct, and my thanks for it.

GENERAL ORDER.

The Almighty God, whose arm is strength, having of his great mercy been pleased to crown the exertions of His Majesty's fleet with success, in giving them a complete victory over their enemies on the 21st of this month; and that all praise and thanksgiving may be offered up to the Throne of Grace, for the great benefit to our Country and to mankind, I have thought proper that a day should be appointed of general humiliation before God, and thanksgiving for his merciful goodness, imploring forgiveness of sins, a continuation of his divine mercy, and his constant aid to us in defence of our Country's liberties and laws, without which the utmost efforts of man are nought. I direct, therefore, that ——— be appointed for this holy purpose.

*Given on board the Euryalus, off Cape Trafalgar,
October 22, 1805.*

TO W. MARSDEN, ESQ.

Euryalus, off Cadiz, October 24, 1805.

In my letter of the 22d I detailed to you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, the proceedings of His Majesty's squadron on the day of the action and that preceding it; since which I have had a continued series of

misfortunes; but they are of a kind that human prudence could not possibly provide against, or my skill prevent.

On the 22d, in the morning, a strong southerly wind blew, with squally weather, which, however, did not prevent the activity of the officers and seamen of such ships as were manageable from getting hold of many of the prizes (thirteen or fourteen), and towing them off to the westward, where I ordered them to rendezvous round the Royal Sovereign, in tow by the Neptune. But on the 23d the gale increased, and the sea ran so high that many of them broke the tow-rope, and drifted far to leeward before they were got hold of again; and some of them, taking advantage of the dark and boisterous night, got before the wind, and have perhaps drifted upon the shore and sunk. On the afternoon of that day, the remnant of the combined fleet, ten sail of ships, which had not been much engaged, stood up to leeward of my shattered and straggling charge, as if meaning to attack them, which obliged me to collect a force out of the least injured ships, and form to leeward for their defence. All this retarded the progress of the hulks; and the bad weather continuing determined me to destroy all the leewardmost that could be cleared of the men, considering that keeping possession of the ships was a matter of little consequence, compared with the chance of their falling again into the hands of the enemy; but even this was an arduous task in the high sea which was running. I hope, however, it has been accomplished to a considerable extent. I intrusted it to skilful officers, who would spare no pains to execute what was possible. The Captains of the Prince and Neptune cleared the Trinidad, and sunk her. Captains Hope, Bayntun, and Malcolm, who joined the fleet this morning, from Gibraltar, had the charge of destroying four

others. The Redoutable sunk astern of the Swiftsure, while in tow. The Santa Anna I have no doubt is sunk, as her side is almost entirely beat in; and such is the shattered condition of the whole of them, that, unless the weather moderates, I doubt whether I shall be able to carry a ship of them into port. I hope their Lordships will approve of what I (having only in consideration the destruction of the enemy's fleet) have thought a measure of absolute necessity.

I have taken Admiral Villeneuve into this ship. Whenever the temper of the weather will permit, and I can spare a frigate (for there were only four in the action with the fleet, Euryalus, Sirius, Phœbe, and Naiad; the Melpomene joined the 22d, and the Eurydice and Scout the 23d), I shall collect the other Flag Officers, and send them to England with their flags, (if they do not go to the bottom,) to be laid at His Majesty's feet.

There were four thousand troops embarked, under the command of General Contamin, who was taken with Admiral Villeneuve in the Bucentaure.

TO J. E. BLACKETT, ESQ.

Queen, November 2, 1805.

I wrote to my dear Sarah a few lines when I sent my first despatches to the Admiralty, which account I hope will satisfy the good people of England, for there never was such a combat since England had a fleet. In three hours the combined forces were annihilated, upon their own shores, at the entrance of their port, amongst their own rocks. It has been a very difficult thing to collect an account of our success, but by the best I have, twenty sail of the line surrendered to us; out of which, three, in the furious gale we

had afterward, being driven to the entrance of the harbour of Cadiz, received assistance and got in. These were the Santa Anna, the Algeziras, and Neptune (the last since sunk and lost); the Santa Anna's side was battered in. The three we have sent to Gibraltar, are the San Ildefonso, San Juan Nepomuceno, and Swiftsure; fourteen others we have burnt, sunk, and run on shore, but the Bahama I have yet hope of saving; she is gone to Gibraltar. Those ships which effected their escape into Cadiz are quite wrecks; some have lost their masts since they got in, and they have not a spar or a store to refit them. We took four Admirals,—Villeneuve, the Commander-in-Chief, Vice-Admiral D'Alava, Rear-Admiral Cisneros, Spanish, and the French Admiral, Magon, who was killed,—besides a great number of brigadiers (commanders). D'Alava, wounded, was driven into Cadiz in the Santa Anna; Gravina, who was not taken, has lost his arm (amputated, I have heard, but not from him). Of men, their loss is many thousands, for I reckon, in the captured ships, we took twenty thousand prisoners, including the troops. This was a victory to be proud of; but in the loss of my excellent friend, Lord Nelson, and a number of brave men, we paid dear for it. When my dear friend received his wound, he immediately sent an officer to me to tell me of it, and give his love to me. Though the officer was directed to say the wound was not dangerous, I read in his countenance what I had to fear; and before the action was over, Captain Hardy came to inform me of his death. I cannot tell you how deeply I was affected; my friendship for him was unlike any thing that I have left in the Navy,—a brotherhood of more than thirty years. In this affair he did nothing without my counsel, we made our line of battle together, and concerted the mode of attack, which was put in execution in the most

admirable style. I shall grow very tired of the sea soon ; my health has suffered so much from the anxious state I have been in, and the fatigue I have undergone, that I shall be unfit for service. The severe gales which immediately followed the day of victory ruined our prospect of prizes. Our own infirm ships could scarce keep off the shore ; the prizes were left to their fate, and as they were driven very near the port, I ordered them to be destroyed, by burning and sinking, that there might be no risk of their falling again into the hands of the enemy. There has been a great destruction of them, indeed I hardly know what, but not less than fifteen or sixteen, the total ruin of the combined fleet. To alleviate the miseries of the wounded as much as in my power, I sent a flag to the Marquis Solana, to offer him his wounded. Nothing can exceed the gratitude expressed by him for this act of humanity ; all this part of Spain is in an uproar of praise and thankfulness to the English. Solana sent me a present of a cask of wine, and we have a free intercourse with the shore. Judge of the footing we are on, when I tell you he offered me his hospitals, and pledged the Spanish honour for the care and cure of our wounded men. Our officers and men who were wrecked in some of the prize ships were most kindly treated : all the country was on the beach to receive them ; the priests and women distributing wine, and bread, and fruit amongst them. The soldiers turned out of their barracks to make lodging for them ; whilst their allies, the French, were left to shift for themselves, with a guard over them to prevent their doing mischief. After the battle, I shifted my flag to the *Euryalus* frigate, that I might the better distribute my orders ; and when the ships were destroyed, and the squadron in safety, I came here, my own ship being totally disabled. She lost her last mast in

the gale. All the northern boys, and Graydon, are alive; Kennicott has a dangerous wound in his shoulder; Thompson wounded in the arm, and, just at the conclusion of the action, his leg was broke by a splinter; little Charles is unhurt, but we have lost a good many youngsters. For myself, I am in a forlorn state; my servants are killed; my luggage, what is left, is on board the Sovereign; and Clavell is wounded. I have appointed Sir Peter Parker's grandson, and Captain Thomas, my old Lieutenant, Post-Captains; Clavell and the First Lieutenant of the Victory are made Commanders; but I hope the Admiralty will do more for them, for in the history of our Navy there is no instance of a victory so complete and so great. The ships that escaped into Cadiz are wrecks; and they have neither stores nor inclination to refit them. I shall now go, as soon as I get a sufficient squadron equipped, and see what I can do with the Carthaginians; if I can get at them the naval war will be finished in this country. Prize-money I shall get little or none for this business, for though the loss of the enemy may be estimated at near four millions, it is most of it gone to the bottom. Don Argemoso, who was formerly Captain of the Isidro, commanded the Monarca, one of our captures; he sent to inform me he was in the Leviathan, and I immediately ordered, for our old acquaintance sake, his liberty on parole. All the Spaniards speak of us in terms of adoration; and Villeneuve, whom I had in the frigate with me, acknowledges that they cannot contend with us at sea. I do not know what will be thought of it in England, but the effect here is highly advantageous to the British name. Kind remembrances to all my friends. I dare say your neighbour, Mr. ———, will be delighted with the history of the battle. If he had been in it, it would have animated him more than all his daughter's chemistry;

it would have new strung his nerves, and made him young again. God bless you, my dear Sir, may you ever be happy! It is very long since I heard from home.

I have ordered all the boys to be discharged into this ship: another such fight will season them pretty well. We had forty-seven killed, ninety-four wounded.

TO WM. MARSDEN, ESQ.

Queen, off Cape Trafalgar, November 4, 1803.

On the 28th ult. I informed you of the proceedings of the squadron to that time. The weather continuing very bad, the wind blowing from the S.W., the squadron not in a situation of safety, and seeing little prospect of getting the captured ships off the land, and great risk of some of them getting into port, I determined no longer to delay the destroying them, and getting the squadron out of the deep bay.

The extraordinary exertion of Captain Capel, however, saved the French Swiftsure; and his ship, the Phœbe, together with the Donegal, Captain Malcolm, afterward brought out the Bahama. Indeed, nothing can exceed the perseverance of all the officers employed in the service. Captain Hope rigged and succeeded in bringing out the Ildefonso; all of which will, I hope, have arrived safe at Gibraltar. For the rest, Sir, I enclose you a list of all the enemy's fleet which were in action, and how they are disposed of, which I believe is perfectly correct.

I informed you, in my letter of the 28th, that the remnant of the enemy's fleet came out a second time, to endeavour, in the bad weather, to cut off some of the hulks, when the Rayo was dismasted, and

fell into our hands; she afterward parted her cable, went on shore, and was wrecked. The Indomptable, one of the same squadron, was also driven on shore, wrecked, and her crew perished.

The Santa Anna and Algeziras being driven near the shore, off Cadiz, received such assistance as has enabled them to get in; but the ruin of their fleet is as complete as could be expected under the circumstances of fighting them close to their own shore: had the battle been in the ocean, still fewer would have escaped. Twenty sail of the line are taken or destroyed, and of those which got in, not more than three are in a repairable state for a length of time.

Rear-Admiral Louis, in the Canopus, who had been detached with the Queen, Spencer, and Tigre, to complete the water, &c. of these ships, and to see the convoy in safety a certain distance up the Mediterranean, joined me on the 30th.

In clearing the captured ships of prisoners, I found so many wounded men, that, to alleviate human misery as much as was in my power, I sent to the Marquis de Solana, Governor-General of Andalusia, to offer him the wounded to the care of their country, on receipts being given; a proposal which was received with the greatest thankfulness, not only by the Governor, but by the whole country, which resounds with expressions of gratitude. Two French frigates were sent out to receive them, with a proper officer to give receipts; bringing with them all the English who had been wrecked in several of the ships, and an offer from the Marquis de Solana of the use of their hospitals for our wounded, pledging the honour of Spain for their being carefully attended.

I have ordered most of the Spanish prisoners to be released; the officers on parole, the men for receipts given, and on condition that they do not serve in war, by sea or land, until exchanged.

By my correspondence with the Marquis, I found that Vice-Admiral D'Alava was not dead, but dangerously wounded; and I wrote to him a letter, claiming him as a prisoner of war; a copy of which I enclose, together with a state of the flag officers of the combined fleet.*

* It was thought at the time by some persons, and has been asserted in a late publication,† that more of the prizes would have been saved, if the wish expressed by Lord Nelson, in his last moments, for anchoring the fleet had been complied with. On such a question, it would be presumption in the Editor, who is a landsman, to affect to give any opinion of his own; but he will venture to repeat the observation that was made to him on this subject by a distinguished Admiral. "No one," said he, "can regard with higher admiration than I do the great qualities of Lord Nelson (and who can sufficiently extol them?) but on a question of mere seamanship, it is no injustice to his fame to say that he was inferior to Lord Collingwood, who was considered by all the Navy to be a seaman of very uncommon experience and knowledge; and when we remember, that at the time when the order to anchor was given, Lord Nelson had been lying for several hours wounded below, without any opportunity of knowing the state of the fleet, it is impossible to put the judgment of the two men at that moment in competition."

In confirmation of this remark, it may be observed, that the very ship in which the hero was then ending his glorious career, and in which the order was given, was itself incapable of being anchored. In a report of the Victory's defects, signed by Captain Sir Thomas Hardy and Mr. Bunce, the carpenter, and now in possession of the Editor, it is stated that, beside much other injury, "the starboard cat-head was shot away, the starboard bower and spare anchors broke, and the stock of the sheet anchor damaged by shot."

Without detailing the injuries which all the other ships had sustained, it may be observed, that in the work in question it is stated of one of them, the Algeziras, "that of her anchors, the two at the bow were all that remained; one of them was broken in the shank, and the stock of the other shot away." The writer of that book asserts, that the order for anchoring (which was given about 9 P.M., and with which, according to Admiral

† James's Naval History, vol. iv.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LA SOLANA,

CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF ANDALUSIA.

[*Translation.*]

MOST EXCELLENT SIR,

Cadiz, October 28, 1805.

Your Excellency's letter of yesterday's date, which was brought to me to-day under a flag of truce, convinces

Collingwood's letter of October 22, few of the vessels could comply, from their cables being shot) was given four hours too late. On whose authority this assertion is made, or what injury happened to the fleet in the course of those four hours, does not appear; and, on the contrary, the writer states, that about midnight the wind veered to S.S.W., and, taking immediate advantage of this favourable change, the Vice-Admiral was enabled to draw off the land. It was not till the 22d that the wind began to blow with great violence on the shore; and such, at last, was the fury of the gale, that the Royal Sovereign, a first-rate, was struck by a sea which stove in the starboard quarter gallery, and washed Lieutenant Clavell, who was lying wounded and insensible, out of his cot into the ward-room, where he would probably have been drowned, if he had not been rescued at the moment by Captain Vallack, of the marines.

With respect to anchoring on a lee shore in a gale of wind, the Editor is informed, by naval officers of much experience and skill, that where the water shoals rapidly, as in the Bay of Cadiz, this is a thing to which no sailor would resort but in the very last extremity, and when every other expedient had been tried in vain. A fresh ship may ride out a gale in safety, or if she should drive from her anchor, may, when her masts and rigging are complete, be enabled to crawl off the shore. If, however, she should fail in this, no resource would be left but to cut away the masts; and when close to a hostile port, this would be to disable and offer her as a prey to the enemy. But to anchor a disabled ship would be, if her anchor parted, to ensure her destruction. Such a vessel could only be saved by being towed from off the shore by fresh ships, by the skill of her officers taking advantage of every little change of wind, and the unremitting labour of her crew, which is never so well and so quickly called into activity in an anchored ship. Mr. James observes with well-merited praise upon the judicious conduct of Captain

me that you are not less distinguished for your humanity than for your valour in battle. The mode which your Excellency proposes for alleviating the lot of the unhappy persons who are wounded on board the captured ships, is so honourable to your generous feelings, that I have resolved, on my part, with the assent of General Gravina, that to-morrow, (if the weather permit,) when the frigates of the combined fleet go out to receive them, they shall convey to your Excellency,

Bayntun, of the *Leviathan*, who, he says, obtained the Commander-in-Chief's permission to anchor some of the prizes : but from the following report of that able officer to Captain Hope, of the *Defence*, it will be seen how much reason there was for rejoicing that the rest of the ships, instead of being anchored on a lee shore, had then, by the skill of the Admiral, and the unremitting exertions of every man in the fleet, been got into an open sea.

FROM CAPTAIN BAYNTUN, H. M. S. *LEVIATHAN*,
TO CAPTAIN HOPE, H. M. S. *DEFENCE*.

Sunday night, October 27, 1805.

At sun-down, the Scout brought me your order of the 24th instant, as well as a letter of this day. The first considers the *Leviathan* as an active ship, and fit for any service. I wish she were ; but I am sorry to state, her defects are such, that *the sooner she is removed from the consequences of a lee shore the better*. Besides eight shot between wind and water, with masts wounded, &c. &c.

I took up this anchorage to stop one of the prizes from going on shore, which she seemed inclined to do ; *and although we have been riding very hard, and have carried away the tiller and loosened the upper pintles of the rudder*, yet I have preferred this to keeping the ship under weigh in our crippled state, with a main-yard doubtful even for spreading the top-sail, &c. &c. I should not enter into this detail if the enemy were expected at sea, but merely to shew that *Leviathan* in the action had some employment, though very inferior to many, and has not escaped injury.

Since I came here on Thursday forenoon, I have found it necessary to take on me the command of the vessels which anchored, and have endeavoured to forward, in spite

at the same time, the English officers and other persons who have been made prisoners in those ships which were recovered after the action, and have re-entered this port. In sending them, I entreat your Excellency to deign to fulfil the agreement for an exchange of prisoners, which I had adjusted with Vice-Admiral Orde and with Lord Nelson, whose death has overwhelmed me with sorrow. In consequence of this agreement, I am emboldened to request your

of the weather, the signal of the Commander-in-Chief—namely, to withdraw men from prizes, and destroy; but such has been the vast rolling sea, and the ships not being near each other, that much less has been done than I most ardently have wished, and many boats have been lost.

Ajax I ordered to cut and close with the Argonaute, to take out the remaining men previous to her being destroyed: she has lost her rudder. Astern, bearing E.N.E. is the Orion, which I ordered to anchor near the St. Augustine: (she was captured by the Leviathan, boarded, and while on board taken in tow, but cast off by signal two days after): *she has, while at anchor in this heavy sea, lost her rudder.* When I ran down to this place after the Monarca, another ship was at anchor, a 3-decker, with Spanish colours up. As soon as Monarca anchored, I did the same by her; and Donegal went to the 3-decker, which I learned was the Rayo. Donegal put above eighty of her own people on board, to take care of her. On Friday she drove a great way from the Donegal, but brought up again; but this morning I fancy she parted, &c. I sent off the Entreprenante to look after her, but there is little hope of the ship being saved. Thursday night, or Friday morning, the Monarca *parted*, and at daylight was seen drifting into the bight: *I fear she is lost, with every one on board.* This day at noon another prize ship, that two days ago drifted from the neighbourhood of the Eurydice, *parted* or cut, and soon after, the Donegal cut her cable and went after her. They were together in the afternoon, and the prize again brought to an anchor. You see, Sir, *there is very little hope of any prize from this quarter being saved, nor has there been any idea of it,* except as to the Rayo. The Argonaute and St. Augustin, having lost their rudders, shall be scuttled the instant we get all the men out; but hitherto that has been a very difficult undertaking, *more so at anchor than it would have been under weigh.*

Excellency's permission that not only the wounded may return to this place, but also the other Spanish and French prisoners, particularly Admiral Cisneros and the other Commanders, who will not fail to add the duties of their gratitude to their testimony of your valour.

This would be to me the most valued favour that I could receive from your Excellency ; and I assure you, with respect to those

If you think it proper and useful, I have no objection to your transmitting this rough account to the Commander-in-Chief : perhaps he may gain some information of our present situation.

I am, &c.

From this statement alone, there would be good reason to conclude, that if the English ships had anchored, instead of being all preserved, as was fortunately the case, they would most of them have perished upon the shoals of Trafalgar.

The Editor has, perhaps, remarked at too much length upon this assertion of Mr. James, which is at least inoffensive, but there are some observations in that book of which the same cannot be said. That author comments upon those parts of Admiral Collingwood's letter in which he states that Lord Nelson sent an officer to him immediately after his wound, and that he called Captain Blackwood to make his signals. It is difficult to say precisely what the writer of those comments intends to insinuate ; but if he wishes, by any forced construction of these passages, to surmise that Admiral Collingwood ever harboured the thought of covertly representing himself as having acted as Commander-in-Chief, when he did not, and of thereby despoiling his departed friend of any portion of the glory which was his due, the unworthy suspicion is repelled by every word that Admiral Collingwood ever wrote or spoke, and by the uniform tenor of his life. The real facts have already been given by the Editor, from the highest authority ; but it may be added, that when the hero of that day had led his fleet into action, the time for signaling was gone, and that little, if any thing, remained for the Commander-in-Chief, but to fight his individual ship, as he did, with a bravery and skill which is beyond all praise, and which, after his lamented fall, was shewn in as eminent a degree by his gallant Captain, Sir Thomas Hardy.

Englishmen who are not immediately sent back to your squadron, that they only remain, till, by the care and assistance which I have ordered to be given to them, they shall recover from the injuries which they suffered by their shipwreck after the action. Your Excellency may be persuaded, that during their continuance in Spain they will experience nothing but the loyalty and liberality which characterise my nation.

I can even add, that if your Excellency should need any assistance for your own wounded men, I shall deem it a pleasure and a duty to furnish it, and even to effect their cure upon land, if your Excellency will intrust them to me. Your Excellency, than whom no one is a better judge of the manner in which my countrymen know how to combat, will readily believe that the Spanish honour is worthy of this generous confidence.

I repeat to your Excellency the sentiments of the high consideration with which I have the honour of subscribing myself your most attentive servant.

Most excellent Sir,

I kiss your Excellency's hand,

THE MARQUIS DE LA SOLANA.

I thank your Excellency for the information which you have been pleased to give me respecting the Señores Villeneuve and Cisneros; and so generous an enemy as your Excellency will be pleased to hear that the Generals Gravina, Alava, and Escaño, are recovering, as their wounds do not appear to be dangerous.

I have just seen General Alava, who has requested me (until his recovery shall enable him to do so himself) to testify to your Excellency, in his name, his deepest gratitude for the generosity and

goodness with which you were pleased to treat him; for which he will ever feel himself under the greatest obligations, as well as for the attention and regard which he received from the other officers of your squadron.

FROM THE SAME.

November 1, 1805.

My Adjutant has informed me, that in order to facilitate the delivery of the wounded with the least inconvenience and suffering to them, it was your Excellency's intention that all the ships of your squadron in which they were embarked should alternately approach this port; and that, on our side, vessels should be sent out to receive them. Nothing can be more humane or more easily executed than this proposition; but as I thought that I had not of myself sufficient power to consent to it, I have had a conference with Admirals Rossily and Gravina; and as they see no objection, I have the honour to tell your Excellency that you may command it to be executed at your pleasure.

I wish it were possible for me to express to your Excellency all the gratitude I feel for the kindness and generosity which you continue to display towards the individuals of my nation; and I beg you to be persuaded that the British subjects shall experience the same from me, as long as they remain in our territories.

FROM THE SAME.

Cadiz, March.

It is too true that Admiral Gravina died on the 9th instant, from the effects of his wound. His loss has been very

afflicting to me ; for he had all the qualities of a true officer and a good friend. The feeling expressions with which your Excellency mentions him are very flattering to me ; and I value them the more from the generous character of your Excellency, who knows so well how to discover real merit, and to appreciate it accordingly.

TO ADMIRAL ALAVA.

SIR,

Euryalus, off Cadiz, October 30, 1805.

It is with great pleasure I have heard that the wound which you received in the action is in a hopeful way of recovery, and that your country may still have the benefit of your services. But, sir, you surrendered yourself to me, and it was in consideration only of the state of your wound that you were not removed into my ship. I could not disturb the repose of a man supposed to be in his last moments ; but your sword, the emblem of your service, was delivered to me by your Captain, and I expect that you consider yourself a prisoner of war, until you shall be regularly exchanged by cartel.

FROM ADMIRAL ALAVA.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR,

Cadiz, December 23, 1805.

The moment I find myself able to subscribe my name, I hasten to fulfil the duties of gratitude, by returning to your Excellency my warmest thanks for your great kindness and care of me, which will ever be deeply engraven on my heart. I have, at the same time, the greatest satisfaction in acknowledging the generosity and politeness with which Lieutenant Maker and a marine

officer of the Thunderer behaved to me on board the Santa Anna, and I have the honour of recommending those officers to your Excellency.

I should wish here to conclude my letter; but I feel it necessary to reply to the subject of which your Excellency treats in yours of the 30th October.

After I fell senseless in the action of the 21st of October, I have no farther recollection of what passed: neither did I know before that my sword had been delivered to your Excellency by the officer who remained in command of the Santa Anna till the end of the combat. In consequence, however, of your Excellency's assertion, the moment I found myself capable of resuming the subject, I inquired of that officer, Don Francisco Riguelme, and was informed that the sword presented by him on board the Royal Sovereign was his own; and that with regard to me, he had only requested of your Excellency that I might not be moved, in consideration of the few hours for which I was then expected to survive. In confirmation of this, I must add, that the sabre which I used in the battle, and the swords which I generally wear, are still in my possession. This officer believes that it was owing to his imperfectly expressing himself in the English language, that your Excellency was led to think that it was my sword which he surrendered to you.

What I have said will be a satisfactory reply to your Excellency, who grounds on your possession of this emblem of my services, my incapacity to exert them during the continuance of the war without a previous exchange. If, however, that had been true which I have proved to be a mistake, it is manifest that I could only share the fate of the vessel in which my person was embarked, under circumstances in which it was so probable that we might be recaptured by a

superior force from the combined fleet, which, in fact, did happen. The same thing might have happened to the Royal Sovereign, whether it was proposed to remove me, since she was then dismasted, and unmanageable as the Santa Anna; and there can be no reason why I should run a risk in two different vessels.

It is extremely painful to me that on the first occasion which is presented to me of having the honour of communicating with your Excellency, and when before the receipt of your valued letter, I had anxiously longed for the means of declaring to you the extent of my gratitude, I should be forced to dissent from your opinion. I could wish that this were on a subject which depended on my own free will, in order that I might evince to you the devotion that I have, and shall for ever entertain for your Excellency, to whose service in all other matters I shall be anxious to dedicate myself.

I am, most excellent Sir,

Your most obedient and affectionate servant,

IGN. M. DE ALAVA.

Although Admiral Collingwood was not satisfied with the reasons which were given in the preceding letter, he continued, during the war with Spain, in the frequent interchange of civilities with Admiral Alava and the Marquis de la Solana. Out of the many letters that passed between them, two are inserted below, as proofs of the courteous manner in which hostilities were then conducted, and which contributed greatly to the powerful influence which, at the commencement of their revolution, Lord Collingwood exercised over the people of Spain.

TO THE MARQUIS DE LA SOLANA.

MY LORD MARQUIS,

Off Cadiz, November, 1805.

I beg your Lordship will accept my very best thanks for your kind present of a cask of most excellent wine. As a token of your esteem it is peculiarly grateful to me. I wish I had any thing half so good to send your Excellency: but, perhaps, an English cheese may be a rarity at Cadiz; and I accordingly take the liberty of begging your Lordship's acceptance of one, and of a cask of porter.

I have the honour to be, with the highest esteem, &c.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LA SOLANA.

Cadiz, August, 1806.

My Aide-de-camp, who has been to your Excellency with a flag of truce, tells me that you wish to have some of the fruit which is in season at this place; and as I feel the highest satisfaction and delight in doing any thing that can be agreeable to your Excellency, I send, by a fishing-boat, sixty melons, and some baskets of grapes, of figs, and of pomegranates.

As this supply may be repeated whenever a boat approaches your fleet, I have not sent a large quantity; for I hope that your Excellency will have the goodness to tell me what fruits are most to your liking, that I may have the pleasure of sending them. I beg your Excellency to present some of the melons to Captain Thomas, who, as I hear from my Aide-de-camp, is fond of them.

I long for the opportunity of personally presenting myself to your

Excellency; and in the mean while I have the honour to repeat, that I am, with the most distinguished consideration, your affectionate servant.

TO LORD BARHAM.

Queen, Gibraltar Bay, November 15, 1805.

I beg to express my earnest hope that your Lordship will take into consideration the peculiar circumstances of the late action, in which as much gallantry was displayed by the fleet, and a powerful armament of the enemy ruined, in as short a time as in any action; but what distinguished it from all others is, that the usual reward to the Captains, arising from the sale of prizes, is almost all lost by the wreck and destruction of the ships. What Government may please to do in this respect for the fleet, I cannot say, but none was ever more worthy of its regard.

To the officers, among whom are many young men who are qualified for Lieutenants, the most grateful reward would be promotion; and if your Lordship would enable me to dispense it to them, by commissioning the four ships, and appointing the officers serving in this fleet, I should feel exceedingly gratified in having it in my power to reward so much merit as is now before me.

I have mentioned this subject in the full confidence that your Lordship feels the same disposition towards them with myself: and in doing it, I have only performed a duty which I owe to them.

I enclose to your Lordship a letter which was sent to me from the Victory. Captain Adair, I understand, was an officer of highly estimable character; and in submitting the case of his family to the

consideration and protection of your Lordship, I feel assured that I place it where due regard will be paid to their misfortunes.

On the 8th November, shortly after the arrival at the Admiralty of the intelligence of this victory, Lord Barham, the then First Lord, informed Admiral Collingwood that he had sent him a commission of the same extent as Lord Nelson; and then he observes, “on the
“ subject of promotion, I will endeavour to comply with your request,
“ though in one instance not regular; and in order to prevent dis-
“ appointment to individuals, I must beg that you will strictly
“ conform to the rules laid down by the Admiralty, by which they
“ leave deaths and court-martial vacancies to the Commanding Officer,
“ and reserve all others to themselves. I am the more particular
“ on these subjects, because the neglect of them has created much
“ disappointment to individuals, as well as to their friends here. I
“ shall trouble you, through my Secretary, with a list of such persons
“ as I wish to fill the Admiralty vacancies.”

TO THE SAME.

Queen, off Carthagen, December 4, 1805.

I assure your Lordship, that in all the appointments I have made I intended to be as regular as circumstances would permit. After the action, several of the ships were short of Lieutenants, when the duty was hard upon them. The Sovereign had only six besides my Flag-Lieutenant, the First Lieutenant being dangerously wounded; and the ship needing all the assistance that could be given her, to supply those vacancies I gave acting orders to young men who were recommended for their activity, and among them to a Mr. Dickenson, whom I found in the Dreadnought, and

removed with me into the Sovereign, because he had more knowledge of his profession than is usual, and seemed to be the spirit of the ship when any thing was to be done. The Victory's Midshipmen are most of them on board the Queen, and they are persons for whom I feel peculiar interest, because they were the Victory's.

Among the many various and important duties of the high office with which I am at present intrusted, I know that I must sometimes need your Lordship's indulgence; but as far as indefatigable industry and the exercise of my best abilities will direct me, they shall not be wanting. I think I have anticipated what your Lordship seems most anxious about. The blockade of Cadiz has never been remitted for one moment; for, considering how precarious an anchorage Gibraltar Bay is at this season, I kept the sea after the action with the least injured ships, until many of the crippled ones had sailed for England, where I judged it best to send all those which wanted material repairs. When the Bay was cleared of ten of them, I proceeded to Gibraltar, to forward the departure of the rest. I had considered the uncertain station of the Rochefort squadron, and directed that not fewer than six should sail together; but my letter to Admiral Knight on this subject did not arrive at Gibraltar before the Victory, Belleisle, and Bellerophon, had sailed.

I had another view in keeping the sea at that time (which had a little of pride in it), and that was to shew the enemy, that it was not a battle nor a storm which could remove a British squadron from the station which they were directed to hold, and I have heard that our keeping the sea after what had passed was a matter of the greatest astonishment to them.

While the English nation lamented most deeply the fall of Lord

Nelson, they were unanimous in their commendations of his successor. Of these testimonies of their approbation, the highest and most valued was conveyed in the following letter from Colonel Taylor, the Private Secretary to the King, to Mr. Marsden, and of which a copy was transmitted to Admiral Collingwood, by the command of the Lords of the Admiralty.

Windsor, November 7, 1805.

His Majesty has commanded me to express, in the strongest terms, his feelings of approbation of every part of the conduct of his gallant fleet, whose glorious and meritorious exertions are made yet more conspicuous, if possible, by the details of the opposition and difficulties which it had to encounter, both during and subsequent to the glorious action, and by the intrepidity and skill with which they were overcome.

Every tribute of praise appears to His Majesty due to Lord Nelson, whose loss he can never sufficiently regret; but His Majesty considers it very fortunate that the command, under circumstances so critical, should have devolved upon an officer of such consummate valour, judgment, and skill, as Admiral Collingwood has proved himself to be, every part of whose conduct he considers deserving his entire approbation and admiration. The feeling manner in which he has described the events of that great day and those subsequent, and the modesty with which he speaks of himself, whilst he does justice, in terms so elegant and so ample, to the meritorious exertions of the gallant officers and men under his command, have also proved extremely satisfactory to the King.

FROM H. R. H. THE DUKE OF CLARENCE.

DEAR SIR,

St. James's, November 9, 1805.

As a brother Admiral, and as a sincere well-wisher to my King and Country, permit me to congratulate you on the most important victory gained on the 21st October by your gallant self, and the brave Officers, Seamen, and Royal Marines, under your command, and formerly under my lamented and invaluable friend Lord Nelson. The Country laments the hero, and you and I feel the loss of our departed friend. Five-and-twenty years have I lived on the most intimate terms with Nelson, and must ever, both publicly and privately, regret his loss.

Earl St. Vincent and Lord Nelson, both, in the hour of victory, accepted from me a sword, and I hope you will now confer on me the same pleasure. I have accordingly sent a sword, with which I trust you will accept my sincere wishes for your future welfare. I must request you will let me have the details of the death of our departed friend; and I ever remain, dear Sir,

Yours unalterably,

WILLIAM.

Admiral Collingwood was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Collingwood, of Caldburne and Hethpoole, in the county of Northumberland, and received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament. An honourable augmentation was made to his arms, by the introduction in chief of one of the lions of England, navally crowned, and surmounted by the word Trafalgar; and an additional crest* was

* The old crest of Collingwood, being a stag under a tree, is an heraldic emblem of the name. Anciently, all beasts and birds were familiarly called by some Christian

granted to him, representing the stern of the Royal Sovereign. He received the thanks and freedom of the principal cities of Great Britain; and a pension was granted by Parliament of 2000*l.* per annum for his own life, and, in the event of his death, of 1000*l.* per annum to Lady Collingwood, and of 500*l.* per annum to each of his two daughters.

TO LADY COLLINGWOOD.

Queen, off Carthagen, December 6, 1805.

It would be hard if I could not find one hour to write a letter to my dearest Sarah, to congratulate her on the high rank to which she has been advanced by my success. Blessed may you be, my dearest love, and may you long live the happy wife of your happy husband! I do not know how you bear your honours, but I have so much business on my hands, from dawn till midnight, that I have hardly time to think of mine, except it be in gratitude to my King, who has so graciously conferred them upon me. But there are so many things of which I might justly be a little proud,—for extreme pride is folly,—that I must share my gratification with you. The first is the letter from Colonel Taylor, His Majesty's Private Secretary to the Admiralty, to be communicated to me. I enclose you a copy of it. It is considered the highest compliment the King can pay; and as the King's personal compliment, I value it above every thing. I am told, that when my letter was carried to him he could not read it for tears, joy and gratitude to Heaven for our success so entirely overcame him. I have such congratulations,

name, of which many are still preserved, as Robin-Redbreast, Tom-Tit, &c. In this way the stag was called Colin, and with a tree represented Colin-wood.

both in prose and verse, as would turn the head of one a little more vain than I am. The adding a red flag at the main to the Navy on this occasion is a proud thing: but I will tell you what I feel nearest to my heart, after the honour which His Majesty has done me, and that is, the praise of every officer of the fleet. And though, perhaps, there will be some in England who will ask, What have they done with their prizes? I can only say, if they are not satisfied, they are hard to please, when, of the combined fleet, which has so long held the nation in dread, there only remains one ship which can go to sea in many months, and only nine in being! If I can get hold of the Rochefort squadron, of which I am in great hope, the naval war of our enemy is over, till they build another fleet. I received intelligence last week of their having taken a station, I suppose for the winter months, where they may interrupt our outward-bound ships to the East and West Indies. I immediately detached Sir James Duckworth, with a sufficient squadron of fast-sailing ships, to look for them; and as they would not, so soon after our battle, expect to be annoyed from hence, I am in great expectation that he will come on them by surprise, and have no doubt as to what the conclusion will be. As Sir Richard Strachan said, "I shall be delighted." What does Admiral Roddam say of our fight? It would have done his heart good to have seen it. There is a thing which has made a considerable impression upon me. A week before the war at Morpeth, I dreamed distinctly many of the circumstances of our late battle off the enemy's port, and I believe I told you of it at the time: but I never dreamed that I was to be a peer of the realm. How are my darlings? I hope they will take pains to make themselves wise and good, and fit for the station to which they are raised. I am here with six sail. The Spaniards in the harbour have eight, but shew no disposition to come out.

TO LORD BARHAM.

Queen, off Carthage, December 6.

I have received your Lordship's letter of the 16th ult., congratulating me on the honour which His Majesty has been graciously pleased to confer upon me in advancing me to the Peerage; and I cannot sufficiently express the gratitude which I feel to my King for this distinguished mark of his royal approbation of my conduct. All the ability which God has given me is devoted to his service; and whenever any good fortune shall place me in a situation to render benefit to his kingdoms, I trust I shall support the honour of that high station to which His Majesty has been graciously pleased to exalt me.

My family, my Lord, has for several ages been of considerable distinction in the North; but as it is now raised to a higher degree of eminence by the favour of my King, your Lordship will easily conceive that I feel a degree of ambition to continue its elevation to posterity, that future Collingwoods may manifest in future ages their fidelity to their Country. I have not a son; but if the honours which have been conferred on me could be continued in the heirs of my daughters, I should be made very happy. I hope your Lordship will pardon my having mentioned this subject; but as the state of my family is probably little known to His Majesty, I have taken the liberty of putting your Lordship so far in possession of the fact, and of my ardent desire on this subject.

This appears to have been the only thing of any kind that Lord Collingwood ever asked, for himself or any member of his family, during the whole course of his naval employment: but although he

was led by Lord Barham to believe that this request would be granted, and repeated it during the succeeding Administration, it was not deemed expedient to comply with it.

TO H. R. H. THE DUKE OF CLARENCE.

Queen, off Carthage, December 12, 1805.

I cannot express how great my gratitude is to your Royal Highness, for the high honour which you have done me by your letter, congratulating me on the success of His Majesty's fleet against his enemies.

This instance of condescension, and mark of your Royal Highness's kindness to one of the most humble, but one of the most faithful of His Majesty's servants, is deeply engraved in my heart. I shall ever consider it as a great happiness to have merited your Royal Highness's approbation, of which the sword which you have presented to me is a testimony so highly honourable to me; for which I beg your Royal Highness will accept my best thanks, and the assurance that, whenever His Majesty's service demands it, I will endeavour to use it in support of our Country's honour, and to the advancement of His Majesty's glory.

The loss which your Royal Highness and myself have sustained in the death of Lord Nelson can only be estimated by those who had the happiness of sharing his friendship. He had all the qualities that adorn the human heart, and a head which, by its quickness of perception and depth of penetration, qualified him for the highest offices of his profession. But why am I making these observations to your Royal Highness, who knew him? Because I cannot speak of him but to do him honour.

Your Royal Highness desires to know the particular circumstances

of his death. I have seen Captain Hardy but for a few minutes since, and understood from him, that at the time the Victory was very closely engaged in rather a crowd of ships, and that Lord Nelson was commending some ship that was conducted much to his satisfaction, when a musket-ball struck him on the left breast. Captain Hardy took hold of him to support him, when he smiled, and said, " Hardy, I believe they have done it at last." He was carried below ; and when the ship was disengaged from the crowd, he sent an officer to inform me that he was wounded. I asked the officer if his wound was dangerous. He hesitated ; then said he hoped it was not ; but I saw the fate of my friend in his eye ; for his look told what his tongue could not utter. About an hour after, when the action was over, Captain Hardy brought me the melancholy account of his death. He inquired frequently how the battle went, and expressed joy when the enemy were striking ; in his last moments shewing an anxiety for the glory of his Country, though regardless of what related to his own person.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your Royal Highness's
Most obedient and most humble Servant.

TO LORD RADSTOCK.

Queen, off Carthage, December 12, 1805.

Most sincerely do I thank you for all your kindness to me, and particularly for your congratulations on our victory, in which we gained and lost so much. His Majesty has indeed been very gracious to me, and I feel a gratitude to him which I cannot well express ; but you, my Lord, can conceive the sort of delight that a man feels in arriving at the summit of his ambition, and mine

has ever been the approbation of my Sovereign and my Country. A letter which His Majesty ordered to be written by Colonel Taylor is so highly honourable to me, and so expressive of His Majesty's approbation of my service, that nothing can be more gratifying to me. His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence has not been less gracious to me; and, indeed, all persons, known or unknown to me, are doing me honour. I confess I feel a considerable degree of pride in having deserved their praise; and I hope it is the only kind of pride that will ever trouble me. I am here with six ships, watching the Spanish squadron, eight beauties. The Real Carlos and Rayna Louisa are Spanish perfections, like the Santa Anna, and she towered over the Royal Sovereign like a castle. No ship fired a shot at her but ourselves, and you have no conception how completely she was ruined. Oh! had Nelson lived! how complete had been my happiness — how perfect my joy! Now, whatever I have felt like pleasure has been so mixed with the bitterness of woe, that I cannot exult in our success as it would be pardonable to do.

Admiral Villeneuve is a well-bred man, and, I believe, a very good officer: he has nothing in his manners of the offensive vapouring and boasting which we, perhaps too often, attribute to Frenchmen.

TO LADY COLLINGWOOD.

Queen, off Carthagen, December 16, 1805.

I write merely to say that I am well, and as busy as any creature can be. How I shall ever get through all the letters which are written to me I know not. I labour from dawn till midnight, till I can hardly see; and as my hearing fails me too, you will have but a mass of infirmities in your poor Lord whenever he returns to you. I suppose I must not be seen to work in my

garden now ; but tell old Scott that he need not be unhappy on that account. Though we shall never again be able to plant the Nelson potatoes, we will have them of some other sort, and right noble cabbages to boot, in great perfection. You see I am styled of Hethpoole and Caldburne. Was that by your direction? I should prefer it to any other title if it was ; and I rejoice, my love, that we are an instance that there are other and better sources of nobility than wealth.

*Extract of a Letter from Colonel Taylor, Private Secretary to
His Majesty, to William Marsden, Esq.*

Windsor, November 20, 1805.

“ Every event subsequent to the glorious action, has, in His
“ Majesty’s opinion, distinguished, in an additional degree, the me-
“ ritorious, able, and most zealous conduct and exertions of Lord
“ Collingwood and his brave officers and men ; and the result of the
“ whole has proved as decisive and important to the interests of the
“ Country as it has been honourable to its gallant defenders.”

TO LADY COLLINGWOOD.

Queen, off Carthagera, December 20, 1805.

I have another charming extract of a letter written to the Admiralty, by His Majesty’s command, in which he says, that the more the proceedings of the fleet under my command are detailed, the more reason he has to approve of my conduct. It makes me quite happy that the King should seem so pleased with me. Many of the Captains here have expressed a desire that I would give them a general notice whenever I go to court ; and if they are within 500 miles they will come up to attend me. Now all this is

very pleasing; but, alas! my love, until we have peace I shall never be happy: and yet, how we are to make it out in peace, I know not, with high rank and no fortune.* At all events, we can do as we did before. It is true I have the chief command, but there are neither French nor Spaniards on the sea, and our cruisers find nothing but neutrals, who carry on all the trade of the enemy. Our prizes you see are lost: but was there ever so complete a break-up of an enemy's fleet? If we have not saved them to ourselves, we have at least put them out of the power of doing further mischief. Villeneuve's ship had a great deal of money in her; but it all went to the bottom. I am afraid the fees for this patent will be large, and pinch me, but never mind; let others solicit pensions, I am an Englishman, and will never ask for money as a favour. How do my darlings go on? I wish you would make them write to me by turns, and give me the whole history of their proceedings. Oh! how I shall rejoice, when I come home, to find them as much improved in knowledge as I have advanced them in station in the world: but take care they do not give themselves foolish airs. Their excellence should be in knowledge, in virtue, and benevolence to all; but most to those who are humble, and require their aid. This is true nobility, and is now become an incumbent duty on them. I am out of all patience with Bounce. The consequential airs he gives himself since he became a Right Honourable dog are insufferable. He considers it beneath his dignity to play with commoners' dogs, and truly thinks that he does them grace when he condescends to lift up

* At this time Lord Collingwood's income, including his full pay, barely amounted to £1100 per annum, as appears from several of his letters respecting the income tax, to which he was peculiarly solicitous that the most correct return should be made.

his leg against them. This, I think, is carrying the insolence of rank to the extreme; but he is a dog that does it. 25th December. This is Christmas-day; a merry and cheerful one, I hope, to all my darlings. May God bless us, and grant that we may pass the next together. Every body is very good to me; but His Majesty's letters are my pride, it is there I feel the object of my life attained. The editors of the Naval Chronicle have written to me for the history of my life and progress, for which they are pleased to say, the world is very impatient. Now this rather embarrasses me, for I never could bear the trumpeter of his own praise. So, to get rid of it as well as I can, I have employed —— to write a history for me. For my birth and parentage he has selected two or three chapters of Bamfylde Moore Carew: for my service in the West Indies, and on the Spanish main, he has good assistance in the History of the Buccaneers; and for my shipwreck he has copied a great deal out of Robinson Crusoe; all which, with a few anecdotes from the Lives of the Admirals, a little distorted, will make, I am inclined to think, a very respectable piece of biography. I have just heard that the Brest fleet is at sea, and coming this way. If they do, I have force enough to beat them all; and it would be a lucky hour. I am now going down the Mediterranean to meet them, if they should be coming this way, which I think is not improbable, on the supposition that we are weak.

TO J. E. BLACKETT, ESQ.

Queen, off Malaga, January 1, 1806.

Many happy returns of this day to you in health and the enjoyment of every comfort. Happy should I be could I be of your party to-day, which I am sure will be a cheerful one; but when I am to look for that blessing I cannot tell. It was once

full in the contemplation of my mind, considering that I am now far advanced in years, to have retired from sea service when my three years were up, in May next; but I am afraid that is now quite out of the question; and as long as I have health I must go on. As soon as I had got a few ships put in order I went up to Carthagena, where the Spaniards have a squadron of fine ships, but they shew no disposition to come out. Indeed there seems no service for them; they are not enough to undertake any expedition, and their trade is so covered by the neutral flag that it requires no other protection. The property of the enemy is thus secured while we are buffeting the seas without ceasing, and with difficulty protect our own. What is the worst part of it is, that these invaders of our rights are, for the most part, ensured by English underwriters. It is a most nefarious practice, which has put me out of conceit with mercantile patriotism. They may give me fine vases and high praises, but they must shew the same regard for their Country which I feel before they can gain my esteem.

I have only been on shore once since I left England, and do not know when I shall go again. I am unceasingly writing, and the day is not long enough for me to get through my business. I hope my children are every day acquiring some knowledge, and wish them to write a French letter every day to me or their mother. I shall read them all when I come home. If there were an opportunity I should like them to be taught Spanish, which is the most elegant language in Europe, and very easy. I hardly know how we shall be able to support the dignity to which His Majesty has been pleased to raise me. Let others plead for pensions; I can be rich without money, by endeavouring to be superior to every thing poor. I would have my services to my Country unstained by any interested motive; and old

Scott and I can go on in our cabbage garden without much greater expense than formerly. But I have had a great destruction of my furniture and stock; I have hardly a chair that has not a shot in it, and many have lost both legs and arms, without hope of pension. My wine broke in moving, and my pigs were slain in battle; and these are heavy losses where they cannot be replaced. . . .

There had been much difficulty in ascertaining the precise number of the enemy's ships which had struck their colours on the 21st October. Lord Collingwood had originally stated them to be twenty; but Captain Blackwood, who had been sent into Cadiz with a flag of truce, had found there the French ship *Argonaute*, which had been included in that number. As Mr. Pitt was properly solicitous that the fact should be stated with the strictest accuracy in the London Gazette, it was thought right that the mistake should be rectified on Captain Blackwood's authority.

TO THE HONOURABLE CAPTAIN BLACKWOOD.

DEAR SIR,

Queen, off Cadiz.

I have just received the favour of your letter of the 11th December, by Captain Fellows, and am exceedingly obliged to you for your kind congratulations. Whatever I could say of you, of your services, and the benefit I received from them, was well deserved, for in the critical situation of our affairs, and anxious time I had when I was in the *Euryalus*, I received from you an aid which is not often to be obtained; and I consider it a part, a material part of my good fortune that I embarked in your ship. Should you come to this country you may believe how glad I shall be to see you. I am much obliged to you for your intention to give my wife notice of your

destination ; and if you bring me a letter from her you will make me happy. The mode of correcting the error in the returns made of the enemy's ships was the best that could be devised. You know that I wished to be as correct as possible, and that any deviation from the real fact must have proceeded from imperfect information. I am exceedingly anxious at present to know what is become of the French squadrons ; every report speaks of them as expected here ; and I think, from the present circumstances of the war, they will attempt to get into the Mediterranean. I hope they will come in force enough not to run away ; for the ships I have are many of them but miserable sailers : if they are bold and wait for us, I doubt not we shall give their Navy the *coup de grace*.

I hope you found Mrs. Blackwood and your family well : happy I am sure they would be to see you.

I am, dear Sir, with great regard,

Your faithful humble servant.

As a new era in Lord Collingwood's life was now commencing, and he became engaged in many important political transactions, it may not be inexpedient to advert shortly to the state of the different European powers about this period. For the purpose of rescuing the Continent from the domination of France, England and Russia, in April 1805, entered into a treaty, of which the principal provisions were ten years afterwards carried into execution ; but its commencement was marked with an uninterrupted series of misfortune and discomfiture. Austria, which had been too hastily precipitated into war, was subdued at Austerlitz ; while Prussia, which at first had seen without regret her ancient rival attacked, became indignant at the violation of her territories in Franconia by the French columns,

and engaged in a policy the most treacherous and contradictory. A convention was signed at Potsdam, on the 3d November, 1805, between Frederick William and the Emperor Alexander, by which the Court of Berlin engaged to make common cause with the other members of the coalition; almost at the moment when Count Haugwitz was concluding at Vienna a treaty by which Napoleon and the King of Prussia, after guaranteeing the possession of their other territories, stipulated that the latter should cede Anspach, Neuchatel, and Cleves, and indemnify himself by the seizure of the territories of his ally, the Elector of Hanover. On the 4th of January, 1806, about ten days after Count Haugwitz's return to Berlin with the treaty of Vienna, Prussia voluntarily engaged to ensure the safety of the British troops in Hanover, by the aid of the Russian army, which had been intrusted to her expressly for the preservation of the Country, and, if necessary, by her whole force: but in a few weeks she annexed the whole Electorate to her dominions, as a state transferred to her by Napoleon by right of conquest, and excluded the English flag from its ports. This act of perfidy and aggression was speedily answered on the part of England by a declaration of war. In the summer of 1806, during the negotiations for a peace with France, Napoleon offered to the English Government the restoration of Hanover, without deeming it necessary to require the consent of Prussia;—an affront that occasioned the war which for a time annihilated the Prussian power on the plains of Jena, and which was terminated by the peace of Tilsit, when Alexander in his turn was indemnified at the expense of his allies, the Kings of Prussia and Sweden. Great Britain, on her part, attacked Denmark, bombarded her capital, and seized her fleet, which led to a war with Russia.

From these circumstances, with the single exception of Sweden,

whose King, as the reward for his fidelity, lost Finland, and ultimately his crown, all the northern states were successively closed against England, and her political communications with the powers of Europe was confined to the countries bordering on the Mediterranean : and so rigorously was the system of exclusion maintained, that on many occasions the readiest mode of intercourse with the north of Europe was through Constantinople. It was natural that much of the management of those political relations, which still subsisted with the south, should devolve upon the Commander-in-chief of the naval forces in the Mediterranean ; and great as are the acquirements and knowledge of many officers in the Navy, it must still be considered as a very fortunate circumstance that there was found in possession of this important command a person of so much sagacity and moderation as Lord Collingwood.

The state which principally engaged the attention of the English Government was Naples. Their Sicilian Majesties had been endeavouring, for the last two years, to save their kingdoms by apparent submission to Napoleon, while they were secretly soliciting the protection of Great Britain, Russia, and Austria ; and to preserve them from the vengeance of France, in the event of their projects being discovered, Lord Nelson had stationed the *Excellent* off Naples, and delivered to the Court a sealed order for their conveyance on board that vessel to Sicily, whenever such a measure should become necessary.

In the mean time the Russian Minister insisted upon the signature of a secret treaty between the King of Naples and the Emperor of Russia, by which the former bound himself to receive into his dominions the troops of the allies, whenever it should be thought proper to bring them either into Sicily or into the kingdom of

Naples. A few days afterwards a messenger arrived from the Marquis de Gallo at Paris with a treaty which that Ambassador had concluded, by which Naples engaged to repulse by force, and by the employment of all her means, any attempt that should be made on her neutrality; and stipulated that she would not permit any body of troops belonging to any belligerent power, to land upon her territory, or confide the command of her armies and places to any subject of Russia, Austria, or England. As the French General threatened, in case of delay, to march upon the capital, Ferdinand ratified the convention with France; and at the same time delivered a secret counter declaration to the Russian Minister, by which he re-established the validity of the treaty with Russia, and annulled that which had been signed by his Ambassador, as having been imposed upon him by force.

When, in execution of their part of the convention, the French troops had evacuated the Neapolitan territory, the King expressed his earnest desire that the English and Russian forces should without delay disembark at Naples for the purpose of joining his army, and making a diversion in favour of the Austrians in the north of Italy. To the honour of the English Minister it should be observed, that, in this rapid succession of signing and countersigning of treaties, he carefully avoided putting his name to any public document whatever, declaring that, although a considerable degree of convenience might be obtained for the allies by these diplomatic manœuvres, there was in them a sacrifice of good faith, which he could reconcile neither to his private feelings as a man, nor to his conceptions of sound policy as a minister. The English accordingly appeared only as the auxiliaries of Russia; and so ill was the Court of Naples prepared for the war

which they had thus provoked, that there was not, in all their magazines, a sufficient supply of gunpowder for 6000 men, until it was furnished to them from the English ships. But every hope of a successful resistance was soon abandoned. The Emperor Alexander despatched an Aide-de-camp from the field of Austerlitz with orders for his army to re-embark and return to Corfu; when General Craig also withdrew his troops to the island of Sicily.

After the departure of the allied forces affairs at Naples proceeded as they had begun. Napoleon, in a bulletin, dated Schoenbrunn, the 26th December, announced the march of General St. Cyr upon Naples, “for the purpose of punishing the perfidy of the Queen, “and compelling that criminal woman to descend from her throne:” and when, after the peace of Presburg, he had become satisfied of the entire submission of Austria, he issued a proclamation, in which it was declared that the dynasty of Naples had ceased to reign; and afterwards bestowed the throne upon his brother Joseph, — an usurpation to which Russia in a short time acceded, by the 17th article of the treaty of Tilsit. Ferdinand despatched the Cardinal Ruffo to Rome, in order to obtain, if possible, an armistice of forty days, through the mediation of the Pope and the interference of Cardinal Fesch, and to offer his abdication in favour of his son, the hereditary Prince: but the Cardinal joined the party of the invaders, and celebrated a solemn mass during the rejoicings which took place on Joseph Buonaparte’s entry into the capital. The Duke de San Theodoro, who was despatched for the same purpose, solicited a place in the household of the new King; and the Marquis de Gallo, the late Neapolitan Ambassador at Paris, who had also been charged with a similar mission, became his Minister for foreign affairs. In like

manner, the Queen, who had taken shelter under the English army in Sicily, was found, within a few months, engaged in a series of plots with France against her allies and protectors.

The Spanish branch of the House of Bourbon pursued a conduct as vacillating, and ultimately as fatal. When Prussia was preparing for war, the Queen, and her favourite, Godoy, who governed Spain in the name of Charles IV., conceived that the moment was arrived for shaking off the yoke of France, and were putting their army in motion, when they received intelligence of the battle of Jena. They endeavoured to deceive the French Government, by the assertion that their preparations had been directed against the Emperor of Morocco; and Napoleon, who was not more their superior in force than in treachery and dissimulation, which are the ordinary weapons of the weak, concealed his resentment, deluded Godoy, by the promise of a kingdom in the north of Portugal, into the admission of French troops into Spain; and by encouraging the misgovernment of the Spanish Court, prepared the intrigues of Aranguez, and ultimately that revolution which had so powerful an effect upon the condition of Europe.

Russia had, at this time, considerable power, and still more extensive projects in the Mediterranean. She maintained a numerous fleet in those seas; possessed Cattaro and the Ionian Islands; had already exercised a species of sovereignty over the Greeks by the patents of protection which she granted to them, and by her levies of men in Albania and Greece, a privilege which had been recognised in the Treaty with England; was the protector of Naples, and viewed with great jealousy the exclusive occupation of Sicily by the English troops. The Pope had constantly refused to declare war against England, for which Napoleon despoiled him of several of his provinces, and

ultimately of Rome, declaring that Charlemagne, his glorious predecessor, had not endowed the Church with territory for the benefit of the enemies of his holy religion. The Ottoman Porte was friendly till England commenced hostilities; and so also were the piratical States of Barbary, in spite of the incessant intrigues of France: and of these latter powers, Lord Collingwood frequently expressed his opinion, that in the questions which occasionally arose between the English cruisers and them, they were uniformly in the right, and that they adhered to the strict letter of their treaties with a fidelity which he did not discover in the Governments of more civilised countries.

FROM THE QUEEN OF NAPLES.

Le 1 de Janvier, 1806.

Quoique je n'ai pas le plaisir, milord, de vous connaître, la dernière glorieuse bataille, votre amitié pour l'immortel, et à moi toujours cher et regretté Lord Nelson, et le commandement de la Méditerranée à vos soins confié, sont autant de motifs à me faire souhaiter de faire votre connaissance, au moins pour le moment par écrit. Les assurances qu'en votre nom le Chevalier Eliot nous a données, m'ont bien touché: nous sommes dans ce moment dans une situation très, très pénible et critique. Je compte que vous serez pour nous ce que a été le respectable Milord Nelson, notre ami, protecteur, et défenseur. Le Roi et toute ma chère famille ont mes sentimens, et espèrent tout en votre brave nation, et votre active co-operation. Comptez aussi sur ma sincère estime et éternelle reconnaissance, avec laquelle je suis, et serai toujours,

Votre affectionnée

CHARLOTTE.

TO GENERAL SIR JAMES CRAIG, K. B.

Queen, off Cadiz, January 4, 1806.

I perfectly comprehend the delicate situation in which the politics of the Court of Naples have placed you by the breach of the Treaty with France; which Treaty I believe to have been deception on both sides—agreed to on the part of Naples from their inability to resist the dangers with which they were threatened, and not meant by the French to be adhered to longer than was necessary to their general plan of subjugating Italy. Yet I fear that Naples has been precipitate in drawing down a certain attack before they were in a condition to resist it. If the French be successful in Germany, they will be able to employ such an army against Naples, as, I fear, no collection of force which can be made there will be able to repel. If the French should fail, Naples would have been secure in her neutrality, and the troops now on her frontier might have been actively employed in another quarter.

Sicily, I hope, is well secured against any sudden assault. There is great reason for believing that the fleet which was beaten off Trafalgar was destined for that island. A considerable field equipage was embarked; 4000 troops were in the ships; a like number was expected to embark at Carthagená, and 12,000 were on the march to Toulon for the same purpose, but were remanded on the action taking place.

I was with the squadron, off Carthagená, when the accounts were brought to me that the enemy's fleet had sailed from Brest, and immediately proceeded to this station, to be in the way to intercept them, should their destination be Cadiz or the Mediterranean. They have been cruising in the bay for some time, in detached

squadrons of five or six sail: their object doubtless was the disabled ships from Gibraltar; but they have all had the good fortune to arrive in England.

TO LORD BARHAM.

Queen, at Sea, January 26, 1806.

I have every reason to believe that it is still the intention of the enemy to carry the war into the Mediterranean, which I trust I shall be able to prevent; and can assure your Lordship, that I will make the best use of the force I have, and hope to defeat their purpose, whatever it may be. Yet I think that since I despatched Sir John Duckworth my squadron is weakened much below what is necessary for the probable service, and I am looking impatiently for something from England. I was obliged, with great reluctance, to send four of the ships to Tetuan for water; for the supply of any thing by transports is tedious beyond measure. The armed defence-ships, I am afraid, will be of little use: the fleet has only been supplied with fifty bullocks by them yet, and they arrived dying with famine from the length of passage. Perhaps in the summer they may be more useful; but in the Gut those ships are not defensible with carronades, and the vessel which convoys them could bring the bullocks in half the time. In calm weather, the gun-boats unrig them with their long 24-pounders before they ever come within reach of carronades; and those ships, having the appearance of merchantmen, invite attack.

It is activity only, and not block-ships, which can give security to the trade in Gibraltar Bay. I have given directions to the agent for transports at Gibraltar, that no prisoner taken in a gun-boat shall be exchanged, but sent to England; for the capture of them was

a mere ceremony. Exchanged the next day, on the third they might make their appearance in their former occupation, and perhaps in the same gun-boat in a month, or as soon as the forms of the Court of Admiralty allowed her to be sold.

FROM THE DEY OF ALGIERS.

Thanks to God alone !

To the Admiral of the English Fleet, Peace be to you, &c.

Our King has informed us of the amicable way in which you treat our people, and we are informed of the truth of it, and that you deal friendly with the Moors. We shall serve you in any thing that may be possible with the greatest pleasure.

We were informed that the Spanish and French fleet had defeated the British fleet ; but now we are informed to a certainty that the English fleet has defeated that of France and Spain. Thanks be to God for the day on which we have received this happy news ! as there is no doubt it has given us great joy.

Before this time another Basha had the command ; but now he is dead, and I have the command ; and every thing that you may be in want of will be attended to, please God.

The Consul of your Nation residing here treats us in a very bad way, and we wish that he may behave and speak with us in a better manner, and we will act with him accordingly, as we always did.

It is customary, when a new Basha is appointed, to send some person to congratulate him.

MOHAMED, BASHA OF ALGIERS.

• TO LORD BARHAM.

Queen, at Sea, February 9, 1806.

I must observe that our affairs in the Mediterranean are now in such a state, that a cordial and friendly intercourse with the African Powers is absolutely and indispensably necessary. We may want supplies, which are no where else to be obtained, and hence the necessity of having a Minister who is qualified to conciliate, and convince them, that as a French army could annihilate them as independent States in a month, a British fleet in the Mediterranean can alone protect them.

Upon this station, I feel how much we are dependant on the friendship of the Emperor of Morocco: the fleet could not exist here without the supplies which are liberally granted. Except Tetuan, there is not a place where water could be obtained: for the tanks at Gibraltar, though convenient occasionally, are quite incompetent to the general supply of the fleet.

TO LADY COLLINGWOOD.

Queen, at Sea, February 17, 1806.

The brig is arrived from Newcastle, and has brought me your welcome letter, and my heart is exceedingly relieved by the news of your being well. It is now three months since I had a letter of any kind from England, and a miserable time I have had of it. The uncertainty as to where these fleets and squadrons are, and the dread that they should slip by me, and get into the Mediterranean, wear me down. Would it were peace, that I might enjoy some respite from cares that overpower me. I have written you many letters, with very little information to give you of any thing: for

I know no more of the world you are living in than if I were an inhabitant of the moon. How sorry I am for poor Miss ———. I am sure you will spare no pains for her; and do not lose sight of her when she goes to Edinburgh. Tell her that she must not want any advice or any comfort: but I need not say this to you, my beloved, who are kindness itself. I am much obliged to the corporation of Newcastle for every mark which they give of their esteem and approbation of my service: but where shall we find a place in our small house for all those vases and epergnes? A kind letter from them would have gratified me as much, and have been less trouble to them.

MY DARLINGS, LITTLE SARAH AND MARY,

I was delighted with your last letters, my blessings, and desire you to write to me very often, and tell me all the news of the city of Newcastle and town of Morpeth. I hope we shall have many happy days, and many a good laugh together yet. Be kind to old Scott; and when you see him weeding my oaks, give the old man a shilling.

May God Almighty bless you!

FROM THE KING OF NAPLES.

MILORD COLLINGWOOD,

Palerme, le 18 Fevrier, 1806.

La position affreuse où se trouve en ces momens ma famille et mes deux royaumes me force à recourir à votre assistance efficace, ainsy que je l'ay déjà fait aupres des troupes Angloises, qui viennent de quitter le royaume de Naples à la retraite des Russes. Les mesures tentées pour un accommodement avec les François ont toutes été infructueuses: ils sont entré le 10 de ce mois dans le royaume de Naples, que Joseph Bonaparte pretend, à la

tête d'une puissante armée de conquérir pour luy. Mes troupes se sont repliées vers la Calabre avec mes fils à leur tête, et tacheront, soutenues par l'affection des peuples, de résister au torrent, que nous invade, tandis que je suis venu en Sicile, où s'est retirée la Reine et ma famille, pour en assurer et animer la défense. Mon espoir entier est dans la brave et loyale nation Britannique. Les troupes qui débarquent à Messine, forment l'article essentiel de notre sécurité : je conserveray ce royaume par leur moyen, qui donnera l'exemple aux efforts que la Sicile me procurera pour notre défense, ainsy que pour recouvrer Naples, si quelque circonstance heureuse peut arrêter sur le Continent les démarches ambitieuses qui le devorent. Mais nos mesures, Milord, seront inefficaces, si vous n'y concourez par une escadre qui protège cette Isle, et soutienne nos opérations puissamment. Je viens vous la demander avec instance, ainsy que de vouloir bien faire parvenir au plutôt en Angleterre les depeches, que j'y adresse pour implorer les secours que mon horrible situation, et celle de mes sujets, requèrent en ces momens. Je vous prie, Milord, de vouloir bien hâter l'arrivée dans ces parages d'une puissante division de vaisseaux de guerre, dont j'ay autrefois éprouvé l'heureux appuy, qui m' a assuré la Sicile, et fait reprendre possession des royaumes de Naples. Je devray derechef le soutien et recouvrement de ma couronne à la valeur Britannique, laquelle a sauvé, et j'espere sauvera encore, ma famille des malheurs qui la menacent. Veuillez, Milord, accourir à mon secours par les moyens et choix de forces que vous jugerez pouvoir assurer mon existence, et encourager mes efforts.

Sur ce je prie Dieu qu'il vous ait en sa sainte et digne garde.

FERDINAND.

FROM SIR JOHN ACTON,
MINISTER OF STATE TO THE KING OF NAPLES.

Palermo, 23d February, 1806.

I take the liberty to introduce myself to your Lordship, and present His Sicilian Majesty's letter, with his fervent hopes in your assistance, in which His Majesty confides entirely for the security of his threatened family, and of the remaining of his dominion. I am not to repeat to your Lordship what His Majesty most likely expresses of his losses and dreadful situation. I shall only mention that we keep still the two Calabrias, where an army of 17,000 men, with the two Princes, are situated, with the resolution of an energetic defence. We do what is possible to put Sicily in a state of opposing a proper resistance to attacks by sea, but we have a long coast. The main point of defence from landing is Messina, where General Craig has taken the best posts, in case Calabria should fall; but the island cannot be defended without a naval force. His Sicilian Majesty and family trust entirely, my Lord, in your efficacious assistance. The choice of the proper means and persons to effectuate the salvation of this kingdom is in your Lordship's determination. I am sure they shall correspond adequately to the wishes of their Majesties and of this nation, which was saved once before by the brave English naval forces in this part, and by the same gallant means recovered the kingdom of Naples. We do all and entirely confide and rely in your Lordship's efficacious assistance.

I have the honour to be, with the highest and due consideration,

Your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant.

TO THE QUEEN OF THE TWO SICILIES.

MADAM,

Queen, off the Streights, February 23, 1806.

I am impressed with the greatest gratitude for the high honour which your Majesty has done me by the letter you have written to me.

I beg your Majesty to consider me as an officer devoted to the service of his Country. The Allies of my Sovereign and the Patrons of my friend Lord Nelson, whose noble character obtained for him the regard of your Majesty, will be ever dear to me: and if my humble service shall aid in giving tranquillity to your kingdoms, and happiness to your Majesty, the pleasure I shall receive from it will be amongst the blessings of my life.

I have the honour to be, your Majesty's most faithful and devoted servant.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY HUGH ELLIOTT, ESQ.

Queen, off Cadiz, February 23, 1806.

The critical state to which the kingdom of Naples is reduced by the misfortunes which have befallen the armies of the Allies in Germany requires the utmost vigilance. Our troops having retired, there is nothing left for Naples but by negociation, to endeavour to deprecate the vengeance of Buonaparte; though I think it is scarce to be expected that his mercy will be less ruinous than his wrath. I ever felt in my mind the impolicy and danger of receiving the British and Russians into that kingdom, for the reasons which I mentioned to you in a former letter. They were certain to draw upon it the most rigorous treatment if the French were vic-

torious: if the French were unsuccessful in Germany, it is not probable that Naples would have received annoyance from them.

I must now inform you, Sir, how I am circumstanced here. I have with me sixteen sail of the line, several of them heavy sailing ships, and which having also material defects in their masts from the action, ought to have gone home, if they could have been spared; but I delayed sending them, from the information I received from Cadiz, which is, that the enemy's squadrons, amounting to more than twenty sail, are expected to arrive at Cadiz soon, and provision is said to have been made for them there; but their ultimate destination undoubtedly is the Mediterranean. This armament will be made up of the ships now cruising in the ocean, of which fourteen or fifteen sailed from Brest, the Rochefort squadron, which went into port the latter end of December and was to sail again as soon as possible, and three ships at Vigo now repaired. These vessels, it is said, are to rendezvous at Teneriffe, or near it; and having joined, are to proceed hither. My opinion is, that their object is Sicily: there are two or three ships in Cadiz which may be in a state to join them, and eight at Carthagen.

Should this armament pass into the Mediterranean without being encountered, the difficulty of subduing them would daily increase, as they would be strengthened in their course by the accession of the Carthaginians; and the points from which supplies could be drawn for this fleet would be more remote. The Spaniards at Carthagen will not probably undertake any enterprise unless joined by the French.

With this view of the probable plan of the enemy, I do not think I can render essential service to the affairs of their Sicilian Majesties

more effectually than by keeping the Mediterranean shut from the entrance of a French squadron.

From the jealousy which the Russians have expressed with regard to the defence of Sicily, no hope or expectation can be formed of co-operation from them; and while they entertain such sentiments, they are undoubtedly better at Corfu.

FROM THE KING OF NAPLES.

MILORD COLLINGWOOD,

Palermo, 1^o de Mars, 1806.

Je vous addressay il y a peu de jours mes vives instances pour être secouru dans la fatale position où je me trouve. J'apprends que vous rappelez le bon et intelligent Capitaine Sotheron, et que vous voulez bien laisser à ma disposition le vaisseau que vous envoyez remplacer l'Excellent. Je vous remercie de cette attention, qui m'est infiniment sensible, autant que nécessaire. Mais dans mes circonstances, Milord, j'ay besoin de votre assistance energique : j'en implore de nouveau les effets. Le royaume de Naples n'est pas entièrement conquis par les François, puisque j'y possède encore les Calabres, ou mes fils et le reste de mon armée se defend. La Sicile peut être attaquée par des coups de main sur ses nombreuses côtes. De Marseilles, Geves, Livourne, comme de Naples, on peut faire des expéditions contre ce royaume; ainsi que couper par un débarquement au sud de la Calabre mes fils, et leurs defenseurs. Vous jugerez de l'importance pour ma defense et la sureté de la Sicile d'une co-operation maritime des braves Anglois, qui autrefois sauverent ce royaume, et m'aiderent à reconquerir Naples. Veuillez m'aider au plutôt, et m'envoyer une division respectable, qui rassure, encourage, et sauve mes sujets des fleaux qui les avoisinent. Le

Capitaine Sotheron peut vous donner, Milord, les details, de tout ce qui s'est passé à Naples, ainsi que des efforts que j'employe icy pour une vigoureuse defense: elle sera efficace, si je suis aidé et secouru. Je ne puis que vous prier, Milord, mais avec instance, que ce puisse être le Capitaine Sotheron qui conduise et dirige les secours que vous voudrez bien m'envoyer. Il a toute ma confiance, et est parfaitement au fait de tout ce qui concerne ma position. Vous voyez mon etat, celui de ma famille, et ce qui nous menace encore: veuillez repondre à mon attente, mes esperances, et à mon entière confiance. Sur ce je prie Dieu, Milord Collingwood, qu'il vous ait en sa sainte et digne garde.

FERDINAND.

TO LADY COLLINGWOOD.

Queen, at Sea, March 1, 1806.

I have but a moment to write to you, my love, for I am so constantly employed, that, though I am a free burgess of many a city and town, my dinner time is really a plague from its interrupting me. I was happy to hear that every body had been so attentive to you; and indeed to me all the people of England have been kind beyond example. I have received congratulatory letters and freedoms from the principal cities of England — London, the City, the Goldsmiths' and Drapers' Companies, Bath, Bristol, Exeter, Cork; Portsmouth, and Southampton, I had before; and letters from numbers of the nobility, to whom I was little known. But the Admiralty have abandoned me; I never hear from them, but am labouring for every thing that is to promote the interest of my Country. I am anxious about my children, now their governess is gone. I beseech you, dearest Sarah, I beseech you keep them con-

stantly employed; make them read to you, not trifles, but history, in the manner we used to do in the winter evenings: blessed evenings indeed! The human mind will improve itself if it be kept in action; but grows dull and torpid when left to slumber. I believe even stupidity itself may be cultivated.

TO J. E. BLACKETT, ESQ.

Queen, at Sea, March 6, 1806.

I have a most arduous time of it, and affairs are growing so critical all around me, that I scarce know which to take up first. The business of the fleet appears trifling and easy when compared with the many important things I have to settle. I have received a most piteous letter from the King of Naples, whose Country is invaded by the French, and himself and Court obliged to retire to Sicily; and I have made such arrangements on his coast as I hope will give him perfect security where he is: but, for Naples, he must wait until events on the Continent are more favourable. When will that be? I never hear from England: the Admiralty seem to have so much business in other quarters, that they cannot attend to me: if they would send me a few more ships I should not care, but I am very much pinched for force to spread over the extensive seas which I have to range. Your rejoicings at our battle and my good fortune made me, as you will believe, very happy. Every body seems to rejoice in it more than the Ministers. They were very tardy in proposing the vote of thanks to the fleet, and nothing can have been more neglectful than the Admiralty have been. I have not made an officer, except in the death vacancies; nor, indeed, have they written a letter to me these three months, except one short one, desiring me to account for all my prisoners. They ought to be content, for I defy

any person to devote himself more to the service than I do, for I spare neither body nor mind. I suppose I shall have great demands on me for patents and fees, but we must pay for being great. I get no prize money. Since I left England I have received only £183, which has not quite paid for my wine; but I do not care about being rich, if we can but keep a good fire in winter. How I long to have a peep into my own house, and a walk in my own garden! It is the pleasing object of all my hopes. If I could get another good blow at the Frenchmen, I would certainly come home and compose my perturbed spirits.

TO THE KING OF THE TWO SICILIES.

SIRE,

Queen, off Cadiz, March 6, 1806.

I have this moment received the honour of your Majesty's letter, and most sincerely do I lament the unhappy circumstances which have befallen the kingdom of Naples, and have made it necessary for your Majesty to retire to Palermo. Considering the precarious and dangerous state of your Majesty's dominions, I have already sent reinforcements of ships to the coast of Sicily,—some of which, I hope, have arrived before this time,—and now send two ships of the line, which, together, will form such a squadron as will be superior to any force that the enemy can collect. They are some of the best ships of my fleet, and commanded by gallant and experienced officers, on whose zeal and intrepidity your Majesty may firmly rely.

Most gladly would I repair with my whole force to the coasts of your Majesty's dominions for their protection, were I not well assured that the station which I hold here, by preventing the French

squadrons from getting into the Mediterranean, will more effectually answer that purpose than any other position I could take.

The French have, at present, several squadrons cruising in the ocean; and from all the information I receive of them, I have every reason to believe that their ultimate destination is the Mediterranean. Should they pass the Straits, your Majesty will perceive with what difficulty they would then be prevented from carrying on their operations in Italy. I must, if possible, meet them here; and will, in the mean time, put such a force on the coast of Sicily as will give perfect security to that island, and annoyance to the French on the Italian shore.

I beg to give your Majesty every assurance of my zeal and fidelity, in so using the British Naval force, as will best preserve your Majesty's kingdoms; for I am, in all truth,

Your Majesty's most faithful and devoted servant.

TO LORD RADSTOCK.

Queen, March 10, 1806.

I have had, and have at present, great anxiety upon the subject of promotion; for since the actions there has been none here, except the deaths which I filled up to enable the ships to go to sea, and the First Lieutenants are pining. Lord Barham wrote to me between four and five months since, that he had given such directions on this subject as he doubted not would be satisfactory, but I have heard nothing of it since. I have a plan for Mr. Waldegrave. Captain Mundy gives the highest character of him, and says that, in all respects he is worthy of command, and that his intelligence in every part of his duty is superior to that of most

young men. This is the consequence of an unremitted application. I am here off Cadiz exceedingly anxious to know what is become of the French squadrons, which I have every reason to expect here. All the information I have got of them is, that they are to assemble at a certain point (near Teneriffe, it was said), and come here in sufficient force to make their way into the Mediterranean, and that Sicily is their object. I have been obliged to make such detachments for the defence of that island as have left me rather weak, but I shall do the best with them I can, and hope every thing. Some of my ships are horribly bad ones; Britannia, and Dreadnought, though two of the finest ships in the Navy, are very foul, and having been fitted at the beginning of the war, and their holds stowed by convicts, they have hardly ever been serviceable ships. It is a very odd practice that of giving vessels which are fitting, either to inexperienced boys, or to old creatures who have almost forgot what a ship is. It is a business which ought to be performed by the most skilful and experienced officers, for both their service and their healthiness very much depend on the first fitting. I never hear from England. The last accounts I had of my family were of the 19th November; but by the Newspaper I find a pension is proposed for me, a thing I never should have asked, for though I am not rich, I am not ambitious of being so. I would much rather they had given my title with remainder to the heirs of my daughter, who will have fortune enough for their station without pension; but I suppose it is the common appendage to titles so acquired. I see the names of some very indifferent young men in the promotion, who never go to sea without meeting some mischief, for want of common knowledge and care. Every three brigs that come here, commanded by three boys, require a dock-yard. The ships of the line never have any thing for

artificers to do. I have sent some home, because they could not be maintained in this country, and their service amounted to nothing. Better to give them pensions, and let them stay on shore.

Queen, March 21, 1806.

To His Highness the most renowned MOHAMED, Pacha of Algiers, the Admiral of His Britannic Majesty's Fleet wishes health, peace, and the blessing of God.

Your letter, most renowned Pacha, which expressed your satisfaction in our conduct towards the subjects of the regency, gave me pleasure. All nations who obey the laws of God, and whose hearts are disposed to justice, live in friendship with the English; and while the regency of Algiers is governed by those rules, its subjects will be considered as our friends, and we shall always meet them with gladness, and treat them with hospitality and kindness. I thank you for your rejoicing in our success against our enemies, the French and Spanish. We have defeated them and destroyed their fleet. Thank God for it! They are the enemies of all men, for, not contented with their own country, they would carry their arms into all nations, and overturn all governments. The English fleet alone keeps them within bounds, or their ambition and love of dominion over all nations might take them to Algiers, as before it carried them to Egypt.

I am sorry that any misunderstanding should have caused a suspicion in His Majesty's Consul that you were not kindly disposed towards British subjects. As I am not fully informed of the matters which made him doubt the friendship of your Highness, I cannot say

any thing about it at present ; but I can confidently assure you of the friendly disposition of His Majesty towards your Highness, and trust that the same sentiments on your part will insure to the English that conduct from you which is due to a sincere friendship.

For my own part, when I consider how much it is the interest of Algiers at this time to be in perfect amity with England, I cannot persuade myself that you would weaken it by any act of yours.

Your Highness cannot shut your eyes to the constant encroachments of an ambitious power, which, setting justice and the happiness of mankind at defiance, would possess itself of all countries,—a power whose object is to govern the whole Mediterranean. Establishments in Africa are necessary to the attainment of that purpose ; and what prevents it but the British Navy ?

When your Highness revolves this subject in your wise mind, you will perceive that the interest of the regency requires that sincere friendship with England to which you profess to be so much disposed.

Trust, most renowned Pacha, that in all things in my power you will find me desirous to be your friend.

TO LADY COLLINGWOOD.

Queen, off Cadiz, March 21, 1806. .

I have at present no prospect of sending a letter, but I begin this because I love to write to you ; and I know that were it only to tell you that I am well, it would be gladly received. If some of those French who are flying about do not come hither soon, I shall get horribly tired of sauntering here, with the thousand causes of care and anxiety in other quarters. I have many in search of their squadrons, and shall ever hope,—for could we but once meet them again, I doubt not that we should make as complete a business as

the last was. At least, you may depend upon it, your husband will leave nothing in his power undone to make you a countess: not that I am ambitious of rank, but I am to be thought a leader in my country's glory, and to contribute to its security in peace. I wish some parts of Hethpoole could be selected for plantations of larch, oak, and beech, where the ground could be best spared. Even the sides of a bleak hill would grow larch and fir. You will say that I have now mounted my hobby; but I consider it as enriching and fertilising that which would otherwise be barren. It is drawing soil from the very air. I cannot, at this distance, advise you on the education of our darlings, except that it should not stop for a moment. They are just at that period of their lives when knowledge should be acquired; and great regard should be had to the selection of the books which they read, not throwing away their precious time on novels and nonsense, most of which might be more fitly used in singing a capon for table, than in preparing a young lady for the world. How glad I should be just now to have half an hour's conversation with you on these important subjects! I have, indeed, a great deal to say to you. Here are several officers with me very much in distress that they cannot get home; but what can I do? The Admiralty will not say a word to me about the prizes, the promotion of officers, or any subject. I never did, nor ever will I do, any thing but what I think conducive to the public good. I am not ambitious of power or wealth more than I have, nor have I connexions of any kind to sway me from the strict line of my duty to the Country. I have neither sons nor cousins to promote by any of those tricks which I have ever held in contempt; so that when I err, it will be from my head, and not my heart. It is not every body that is so indulgent as you are in their judgment of my poor head, but

there is no one by whose judgment I can be so much flattered. I have not heard from Lloyd's Coffee House about the seamen; all that happened in October seems to be an old story, and I must get something ready for a summer rejoicing — something airy.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY H. ELLIOTT, &c. &c. &c. PALERMO.

Queen, off Cadiz, March 27, 1806.

I am at present extremely anxious to know what is the result of the negotiation in which the Cardinal Ruffo was engaged when his Sicilian Majesty left Naples; because, as the councils of that Court have not been very determined of late, it is impossible to reckon upon what sacrifices they might be induced to make, in hope of rescuing the wreck of their dominions from further depredation. But they can only be saved from total ruin by not having it in their power to make them; and as it is the intention of His Majesty that the French should not, in any event, be suffered to possess themselves of Sicily, or any part of it, (which I conclude has been communicated to your Excellency), the orders which I have given to Sir Sidney Smith have this resolution for their object. With this in view, and with the possibility of a change taking place in the councils of the Court of Naples, it would be very desirable to be as soon as possible put in possession of a post, such as would conveniently provide for the safety of the transports and ships of war. I am not well acquainted with the ports of Augusta or Syracuse; but one of them, I think, is quite necessary to us. I have directed Admiral Sir Sidney Smith to communicate with you, Sir, on this subject, and to submit it to your consideration, and to General Sir J. Craig's, how far such a proposition may be made to the Court of Sicily.

TO LORD BARHAM.

Queen, March 28, 1806.

On the subject of the appointments, I hope your Lordship will excuse my expressing my great disappointment that the only officer for whom I was particularly anxious, or whom I recommended to your Lordship to be promoted, has been passed over unnoticed; and I can now say, what will scarcely be credited and what I am willing to believe your Lordship is not aware of, that I am the only Commander in that fleet who has not had, by the courtesy of the Admiralty, an opportunity to advance one officer of any description. The misfortune I had in losing two friends, in Captains Duff and Cooke, made it necessary that I should fill their places, which I did, as justice demanded, by promoting the First Lieutenants of the *Victory* and *Royal Sovereign*. My First Lieutenant stands where I placed him, in the *Weazle*, covered with his wounds, while some of those serving in private ships are Post Captains. Lieutenant Landless, the only person I recommended to your Lordship, is an old and a valuable officer.; he has followed me from ship to ship all the war. A complaint which he had in his eyes prevented his going into the *Sovereign* when I removed a few days before the action; but I did hope that my earnest recommendation to your Lordship might have gained him favour. My other Lieutenant, who removed with me into the *Sovereign*, was, happily for him, killed in the action, and thereby saved from the mortification to which, otherwise, he would probably have been subjected. The junior Lieutenants who came out in the *Sovereign* were gentlemen totally unknown to me; and as I do not know their names, I cannot tell whether they are advanced or not.

The commissions sent out to me for Midshipmen of that ship I have returned to the Admiralty, as she is in England.

I cannot help thinking that there must have been something in my conduct of which your Lordship did not approve, and that you have marked your disapprobation by thus denying to my dependants and friends what was given so liberally to other ships of the fleet: for I have heard that the *Defence* and the *Defiance* had each of them two Lieutenants promoted on the recommendation of their Captains. If there was any thing incorrect in me, of which your Lordship disapproved, I am truly sorry for it; but I am not conscious of what nature it can be, for my days and nights have been devoted to the service.

TO LADY COLLINGWOOD.

Queen, at Sea, March 29, 1806.

I have at last received your letters, and truly glad I am to hear that you are all well. The *Pompée*, Sir Sidney Smith, brought me all the papers, letters, and orders which have been accumulating at Portsmouth for four months past; and this neglect of sending them has caused such a mass of confusion, that I shall never get all made square again. The only thing I had to ask was, that *Landless* might be included in the promotion, and I wrote pressing to Lord Barham on the subject; but it is not done. And now I may say, that they have not made one officer for me, for I made *Clavell* into a death vacancy, with which the Admiralty had nothing to do. All the young men are applying to go home, having lost their promotion by staying here; and I am suffering as much mortification as possible. I am, besides, perplexed with having such a

compound of various affairs to settle, am up sometimes half the night to make arrangements, and have not stirred from my desk these ten days, scarcely to see the sun. You inform me of letters of congratulation from Newcastle, the Trinity House, and other bodies: but I am sorry to say I have not received one of them, and beg it may be made known; for there is nothing I fear so much as the appearance of tardiness in acknowledging the great kindness of my friends. If they sent them to the Admiralty, I suppose they are there still. While fleets of small vessels were thumping each other to pieces at Plymouth, not one was allowed to bring us letters. I have written to Lloyd's about Mr. Chalmers' family. He left a mother and several sisters, whose chief dependence was on what this worthy man and valuable officer saved for them from his pay. He stood close to me when he received his death. A great shot almost divided his body: he laid his head upon my shoulder, and told me he was slain. I supported him till two men carried him off. He could say nothing to me, but to bless me; but as they carried him down, he wished he could but live to read the account of the action in a newspaper. He lay in the cockpit, among the wounded, until the Santa Anna struck; and joining in the cheer which they gave her, expired with it on his lips.

Did I not tell you how my leg was hurt? It was by a splinter—a pretty severe blow. I had a good many thumps, one way or the other: one in the back, which I think was the wind of a great shot, for I never saw any thing that did it. You know nearly all were killed or wounded on the quarter-deck and poop but myself, my Captain, and Secretary, Mr. Cosway, who was of more use to me than any officer, after Clavell.

The first inquiry of the Spaniards was about my wound, and exceedingly surprised they were when I made light of it; for when the Captain of the Santa Anna was brought on board, it was bleeding and swelled, and tied up with a handkerchief. Since you have informed me that my despatches are admired, I am exceedingly ambitious of giving you a second edition, with improvements.

TO THE RIGHT HON. C. GREY.

Queen, off Cadiz, April 1, 1806.

I have received the honour of your letters of the 17th and 23d March, and beg to offer you my sincere and hearty congratulations on the success of the squadron under command of Sir John Duckworth. It is a victory worthy the zeal and perseverance of the distinguished officer who achieved it.

I have ordered Sir Sidney Smith to take the direction of the squadron employed in the protection of Sicily; and with the naval force in that quarter, I consider that Island to be in a state of perfect security. Beside the written instructions which I gave to Sir Sidney Smith, I had much conversation with him on the service which would probably be required in Sicily, in which I endeavoured to impress on him the inefficacy of that mode of war which is carried on by explosion-vessels and sky-rockets. I know no instance of a favourable result from them. They serve merely to exasperate, to harrass our own people, and, by reducing the companies of the ships, to render them unfit for real service when it is wanted. As a general mode of warfare they are unworthy of the English, for their operations chiefly affect laborious individuals who know nothing of war but its miseries. Besides, it is worthy consideration, that the Spaniards are

no where so vulnerable as we are at Gibraltar. If they should be goaded to retaliation, with very little activity on their part, Gibraltar Bay would not be a safe place to lie in for one night. The order I gave not to release or exchange prisoners who were taken in gun-boats appears to have had the best effect, as I understand they seldom appear now in the Straits or Bay of Gibraltar. Indeed, the hostility of the Spaniards altogether seems to have relaxed very much of late.

TO LADY COLLINGWOOD.

Queen, April 5, 1806.

I have received your letter of the 16th March, informing me of the death of our friend at Chirton. Every thing makes me nervous; and constant labour and vexation weary me exceedingly: but I am rejoiced that you are well, and preparing for your journey to London, where I am very desirous you should be presented as soon as possible. I wish that in these journeys the education of our children may not stop; but that, even on the road, they may study the geography of that part of England through which they travel, and keep a regular journal, not of what they eat and drink, but of the nature of the country, its appearance, its produce, and some gay description of the manners of the inhabitants. I hope you will take your time in town, and shew my girls every thing curious. I am sure you will visit the tomb of my dear friend. Alas! the day that he had a tomb! You must have been delighted at the squadron, which I had despatched under Sir John Duckworth, coming up with the Frenchmen at last. The Admiralty sent a vessel out to me directly with Sir John's reports, and I had a very kind letter

of congratulation from Mr. Grey. I need not tell you, my dear, to be very kind to Mr. Collingwood's dog; for I am sure you will, and so will I whenever I come home.

Mr. Edward Collingwood, of Dissington and Chirton, whose death is mentioned in the preceding letter, was a cousin of Lord Collingwood, and devised the latter estate to him and to his heirs male. This bequest gave occasion to another act of courtesy on the part of the Marquis de la Solana, who despatched a flag of truce with a letter, dated Cadiz, 30th May, 1806, in which he expresses his hope that the news which had arrived at that port of a relation of Lord Collingwood having left him a rich inheritance was true. "This act of justice and generosity," he observes, "is the effect of the enthusiasm which your Excellency's character inspired in the deceased, and does honour to his memory. Permit me, while sympathising with your Excellency in the feelings which the loss of a good friend must have excited, to rejoice at your increase of fortune, which I am sure your Excellency will use with the same greatness of soul which distinguishes all the rest of your actions."

As no agreement for the exchange of prisoners of war had been made between England and France, Lord Collingwood, when he liberated on their parole the Spaniards who had been taken at Trafalgar, had been compelled to refuse the same indulgence to the French. Admiral Rossily applied for permission to transport to France, in a neutral vessel, a number of the wounded Frenchmen who were unfit for service, to which Lord Collingwood consented, provided that some English prisoners, who had been taken in the French prizes, should be restored. As this condition was not adhered

to by the French, the passports were for a time withheld, which gave occasion to the following letter, on which is indorsed, in Lord Collingwood's hand-writing, "Admiral Rossily's apology, with some light "French stuff."

MILORD,

Cadiz, April 6, 1806.

Monsieur le Marquis de la Solana m'a fait passer le passeport que vous avez accordé pour les blessés et invalides que je renvoie à leurs familles sur le bâtiment Ottoman l'Achille. Il m'a communiqué la lettre de votre Seigneurie; et je pense comme vous, Milord, qu'il faut en guerre civilisée une reciprocité d'indulgence, et je puis vous assurer qu'il n'a pas dépendu de moi que les 10 prisonniers à Cadiz n'aient été rendus en échange des 10 que vous aviez envoyé par la frégate. Je n'en eus connaissance que par ouï dire; et trop tard; j'en donnai aussitôt l'ordre, et j'ai été bien mortifié d'apprendre que par un mal entendu il n'ait pas été mis à l'exécution. Je priai alors Monsieur le Marquis de la Solana de les faire passer à Gibraltar.

Je n'ai point du tout été surpris, Milord, que des motifs d'humanité l'aient emporté dans votre esprit sur le ressentiment auquel vous pensiez qu'on avait donné lieu; je n'en attendais pas moins de la libéralité de votre caractère; l'humanité s'allie toujours avec la vraie valeur.

Je suis, avec la plus haute consideration de votre Seigneurie, Milord, votre très humble et très obeissant serviteur,

L'AMIRAL ROSSILY.

TO LORD BARHAM.

Queen, off the Straits, April 15, 1806.

I can easily conceive how much your Lordship was pressed for the promotion of officers when you were about to leave the Admiralty; but it would have been a very great favour could your Lordship have included Lieutenant Landless, on whose behalf I now write to you. He was the only one besides Clavell whom I knew, and he had been following me from ship to ship for some years, in hope I might some day be able to advance him.

I thank your Lordship for what you say on the subject of the application I formerly made to you, which I understand to refer to the descent of my title to the heirs of my daughters. Of such settlement I confess I am very desirous. It would give me that kind of gratification which people feel in having their name continued; and I believe your Lordship will allow that I have a sort of claim to be indulged, when I tell you, that but for my constant service at sea since the year 1798, I should probably ere now have had half-a-dozen sons to succeed me. I left my family then, and have seen little of them since.

I am much obliged to Lord Castlereagh for his care in having my pension continued to my wife, which I am sure he did in kindness to me; but if my title be continued in the heirs of my daughters, I would much rather the pension remained, as originally settled in Parliament, to the two next in succession. His Lordship had been misinformed on the state of my circumstances and the provision made

for my family, and supposed the continuance of my pension to be necessary to their support: while the fact is, however the pension might be settled, my family would remain perfectly well provided for, not merely out of distress, which his Lordship was made to believe might be the case, but possessing that sort of affluence which is suited to their situation and condition in the world. So that, in truth, I had no anxiety about the pension at all; but am not less obliged to Lord Castlereagh for the interest which his Lordship so kindly took, in what he thought was necessary to the state of my circumstances. Your Lordship knows I have made no effort to obtain money as the reward of service. The approbation of His Majesty, expressed in the letter written to the Admiralty by Colonel Taylor, would have amply rewarded me; and I feel a gratification in that letter, and the dignity to which His Majesty has raised me, which no pension could give. But I esteem the pension also, as it is the expression of approbation of me from the Parliament, which, with His Majesty's, is the highest honour that can be conferred on a faithful subject.

It is time that I should ask your Lordship's pardon for saying so much on the subject of myself, but I would rescue myself in your Lordship's opinion from the suspicion that I had any hand in this money business. The only thing I had an anxiety about was the continuation of my honours, which your Lordship is so good as to say has been attended to by His Majesty's late Ministers; and for that I am infinitely obliged.

FROM

THE EMPEROR OF MOROCCO TO THE KING OF ENGLAND.

In the name of God, Amen. He is the first, our Father, and all our faith is reposed in him.

From the Servant of God, whose sole confidence is in him, the Head of his Nation, Suliman, offspring of the late Emperors, Mahomet, Abdallah, and Ismael, Sheriffs from the generation of the faithful, the Emperor of Great Africa, in the name of God and by his order, the Lord of his Kingdom, Emperor of Morocco, Fez, Suphelat, Draah, Suez, &c. &c.

To His Majesty of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King George the Third, Defender of the Faith, &c. &c., the worthiest and best of Kings, commanding Great Britain, Ireland, &c. &c. &c., the Glory of his Country, Duke of Brunswick, &c. &c. May the Lord grant him long life, and happiness throughout his days.

We had the honour to receive your Majesty's letter, which was read before us, and were happy to be assured of your friendship, which we had before learned from your favours and attention to our wishes concerning our agents and subjects; for which please to accept our warmest and most sincere thanks. Your Majesty may rely on it, that we shall do every thing in our power to assist your subjects in our dominions, and also your troops and vessels which may touch at our ports. We pray to the Almighty never to dissolve the friendship which has subsisted between our ancestors for so many years, but that it may be increased to the end of our generations: and we are always ready at your Majesty's command to do any thing that may contribute to your happiness or that of your

subjects. Before we had written this, our express orders were, that all British ships that might touch at any of our ports should be supplied with a double allowance of provisions, and all that they might stand in need of; and we are ever ready, as we before said, to attend to your commands. We conclude with our most fervent prayers for your Majesty's health, peace, and happiness.

TO THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES GREY.

Queen, off Cadiz, April 19, 1806.

I am sorry to inform you that I have great apprehensions of the friendship of the Emperor of Morocco being withdrawn from us: but all my communications from Gibraltar are so imperfect, that I cannot yet tell to what I am to attribute it. Some time since, the gun-boats which were intended for the defence of Gibraltar Bay were frequently sent to sea on cruises, where they committed irregularities, were exposed in a service for which they were not calculated, and left Gibraltar Bay without the vessels intended for its defence. One of them was found watching a Portuguese vessel in Tetuan River, which was afterwards seized by the Martin at sea, on the ground that the Emperor did not allow his subjects to trade. In this Portuguese vessel were some officers of the Emperor's navy, whom he had ordered to Malaga to examine the state of a ship which he had there. The Portuguese vessel was either retaken, or some accident happened to her; and the officers were not to be found when restitution was demanded by the Moorish Governor of the Province. Though I had forbidden these boats to be sent on cruises, I found the practice has been continued; and last month the Seahorse fell in with one of them, having a signal of distress flying, their water and provisions expended, and without the power to regain

a port where they could be supplied. I am afraid some new offence has been given to the Moors, or they are now about to retaliate for the insult shewn to the Emperor's officers. A letter which has been transmitted to me by Admiral Knight from Captain Rutherford, of the *Swiftsure*, informs him that the officer of that ship, employed on the watering service at Tetuan, has been seized by the Moors, and conveyed into the country. The Vice-Admiral gives no further information; but, judging from the general kindness which the Moors have shewn to the ships which went there for supplies, I much suspect that some irregular proceeding on our part has caused this hostility in them. I shall send immediately to get some explanation on so extraordinary a proceeding; and, in the mean time, must repeat to you, Sir, what I before pressed upon Lord Barham, that our affairs with the Barbary States, which are now become very important, should only be intrusted to persons who are sufficiently dexterous to conform to manners so perfectly different from those of Europeans. . . .

The Court of Portugal, in the fruitless hope of propitiating by submission the Government of France, had endeavoured to exclude the English vessels from its ports. This conduct had been pursued in the former year, and had given occasion to the following letter from Lord Nelson to Lord Strangford, at Lisbon.

Victory, October 3, 1805.

I have the honour to inform you that I have taken the command of His Majesty's fleet in the Mediterranean station; and I am very sorry that I must begin my correspondence

by a complaint against the conduct of the Portuguese Government at Lagos. They say, at least by their conduct, that by their secret treaty with Spain they are to throw every obstacle in the way of our remaining in their ports or on their coasts, by refusing us water and refreshments; but in such a manner as is disgraceful to the Portuguese Government which offers, or the British Government which allows. Great Britain can have nothing to do with their infamous or degrading treaties: she looks to her treaty being fulfilled in the most liberal manner.

I shall state my complaint of the circumstances which generally happen at Lagos. A ship of war goes there for water and refreshments, which, by treaty, she has a right to: from her communication she seems placed under the direction of the Consul of one of our enemies, and very improper language is held by our enemies to the British officers and seamen, and inducements held out to them to desert. The enemy's Consul then directs that only so many cabbages, or bullocks, or sheep, shall go on board, and, at his will and pleasure, so much water: and it has been carried so far, that a Captain, whose ship was complete with water, giving his proper water to wash the linen, on sending ashore for more, was threatened by the Portuguese sentry, to be fired upon if they presumed to attempt to take a drop. To this degradation no nation can submit.

Now, what I demand is, that our officers and men, whilst in the neutral port, shall be under the protection of the neutral flag, and not be permitted to be insulted by the interference, either secret or open, of our enemies; and that every ship which goes into Lagos, or other ports, shall have such refreshments as are reasonable. And as to water, I never before heard that any limited quantity was allowed, much less that if a dirty shirt was washed, any French

or Spanish Consul should be allowed to say, "You English shall either wear a dirty shirt, or go without water to drink," and that a sentinel of a neutral power should presume to threaten to fire, if an ally presumed to take water.

I shall send a ship or ships to take in water at Lagos. They shall wash, or let it run overboard, if they please; and I rely that the Portuguese Government will direct that our enemies shall not insult our people, much less dictate to the Portuguese Governor for his treatment of us. However degraded the Portuguese may allow themselves to become, it is hardly fair that they should expect us to be insulted by our enemies on their neutral ground: for if, by words or any other mode of warfare, they do permit it, I shall certainly retaliate. I should get warm, was I to go any farther; therefore, I shall leave the business in much better hands—those of your Lordship; only repeating, that all we want is, that when our ships go to Lagos we may not be allowed to be insulted by our enemies, (unless we have permission to retaliate); that we shall take either one ton, or one thousand tons of water, as we please, and be allowed the free use of the markets, as by friendship we had a most unquestionable right to expect; and that the Portuguese Governor may be called to a most severe account for his conduct, in allowing a sentinel to threaten to fire on an English boat going for water, or any other purpose, to the shore of friendly powers. I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO LORD ROBERT FITZGERALD.

Queen, off Cadiz, April 26, 1806.

I have received the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 17th, enclosing a note which had been written to you by the

Portuguese Government, than which nothing can surprise me more. It is a complaint made where they confess that no offence has been given.

I have long been fully sensible of the jealousy entertained by the French of our ships being supplied with refreshments from Portugal; and anxiously desirous that a nation between which and Great Britain so long and so faithful a friendship has subsisted, should not be subjected, on that account, to disagreeable discussions with our enemy, I have forbore to send ships to their ports. Those that have been at Lagos of late were merely there by chance, for the purpose of refreshing their crews. It is reported to me, that they have been supplied; but not in that free and liberal manner to which, by treaty, the subjects of His Majesty have a right, and which is due to the friendship and affection which have been so long established between the two Countries. Instead of the free use of the market, where they might furnish themselves with fruits and fresh provisions, they have been limited to a portion insufficient for half the crew; and even the number of casks of water which they were to have, has been determined.

If, by the other means of being supplied to which the Minister of Portugal alludes, is meant that of taking such supply secretly by night, I did give strict orders that no such illicit correspondence should be held. What is due to neutrality we have a right to receive in the face of day. If Portugal be unhappily in such a situation that she must veil her friendship, and look sternly on those whom she was wont to welcome with open arms, her misfortune is to be deplored; but I never will allow the dignity of the British flag to be questioned by the ships engaging in an intercourse which will not bear to be looked upon by the whole world. That our thus declining supplies, because the mode of furnishing them was considered as derogatory

to the dignity of the British name, should be considered as an infringement of the most strict neutrality, is what I do not comprehend ; and I should suspect that there must have been some misapprehension by the officer at Lagos, and that he has stated his own mistaken ideas instead of the fact.

The same motive of not giving to our enemies any cause of complaint against those whom I have considered our friends, determined me not to avail myself of the right of sending squadrons into their ports, nor was ever such a measure in my contemplation.

TO LADY COLLINGWOOD.

Ocean, April 27, 1806.

Lord Northesk is going home with the prizes. I hope they will have a good passage and arrive safe, though they are but miserable affairs, knocked almost to pieces. You see, by the date of my letter, that I have got into my new ship ; and she is, I think, without exception, the finest-looking one I ever saw ; but, like all new ships, she wants every thing to be done to her, to fit her for war. The ships are now put into very indifferent hands, at a time when all the exertion of the most skilful is wanted. I have been so taken up with the cares of my duty, that I had no time to attend to the little matters that relate to myself personally. Smith, my man, provides us our dinner : but now I find, that with my losses, and movings, and breakings, I have scarce a knife or fork left, and, indeed, am very ill off for every thing. My sister wrote to me on the necessity of my going home, to direct my private concerns in the North ; but they seem so insignificant to the duty I have to do here, that I cannot even think of them. I have not heard enough about them to be able to

give any direction on the subject, but I dare say my brother will take care that every thing proper is done.

It is a great mistake people wishing to send their sons to me. When I was Captain of a frigate I took good care of them; now I cannot, and have not time to know any thing about them. I shall miss Admiral Grindal very much, for he has been a companion for my evenings; and when he is gone I shall have only Bounce to talk to. I hope you told my darling how delighted I was with her French letter: she must converse when she has an opportunity, and remember not to admire any thing French but the language. I wish I could collect something in the fleet to amuse you, but we are all very grave. The only subject that gives a gleam of cheerfulness is the hope that the fleet in Cadiz may venture out again; they will soon be strong enough. I have only been ten days in port since I left England. It would weary any thing. Would that we had peace, that I might laugh again, and see you all merry around me.

I am not pleased at what occurred in Parliament about my pension, or that my family should have been represented as one whose existence depended on a gift of money; and I have told Lord Castle-reagh my mind upon this subject. Though I do not consider poverty to be criminal, yet nobody likes to be held up as an object of compassion. Poor as we are, we are independent. To possess riches is not the object of my ambition, but to deserve them: but I was in hope I should have got another medal; of that indeed I was ambitious. The report that medals are not to be given, is a great disappointment to the fleet: but perhaps it is right. Sometimes they were obtained too easily, and seemed to put all upon a footing, when the degrees of merit were very unequal.

TO J. E. BLACKETT, ESQ.

Ocean, May 1, 1806.

I am much obliged to you for the information you give me about Chirton, and I wish that the very letter of the will of my deceased friend should be observed. Whatever establishments may be found there for the comfort of the poor, or the education and improvement of their children, I would have continued and increased. I want to make no great accession of wealth from it, nor will I have any body put to the smallest inconvenience for me. I shall never live there; nor, were it as many thousands as it is hundreds, would I quit my present situation to regulate it. I hope the butler and servants are provided for. Smith, the man I have now, is a gentleman in manners and education; and he will, I dare say, see me out as my own servant. I was exceedingly displeased at some of the language held in the House of Commons on the settlement of the pension upon my daughters; and have written to Lord Barham and Lord Castlereagh to assure them that such representations were not made with my concurrence. The pension was most honourable to me, as it flowed voluntarily from his Majesty's bounty, and as a testimony of his approbation; but if I had a favour to ask, money would be the last thing I would beg from an impoverished country. I am not a Jew, whose God is gold; nor a Swiss, whose services are to be counted against so much money. I have motives for my conduct which I would not give in exchange for a hundred pensions.

Mine is a very anxious time just now, between their Sicilian Majesties, the Emperor of Morocco and the Dey of Algiers, and I have sad trouble to keep the Consuls from mischief. I have a letter from

a kinsman of mine (for I have several new kindred lately), who derives our descent from Lancaster (Talebois), who came with William the Conqueror, and tells me of many great people to whom we are allied, and that I am of much more noble ancestry than I was at all aware of. I do not know much of what we were formerly, but I can tell him that if I can get hold of the Frenchmen again, I will be a Viscount or nothing. Yet should I be very glad to be amongst you; but I see no prospect of that until we have peace. Do you think we shall ever have it in our days? I do not know when it will be convenient for me to accomplish what I purposed about Hethpoole; for the bankers write to me that they have only £1500 in their hands, and it will take most of it to pay for my patent and fees of my peerage. Yet my expenses have been few since I left England; but I am, indeed, destitute of every thing, not having been enabled to replace my wrecks of last winter. My soup is served in a tin pan, and I have borrowed a pewter tea-pot for my breakfast; but I hope that I shall soon get some things from Plymouth, as I have sent for them long, and that they will last me all the war.

TO HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE TWO SICILIES.

SIRE,

H.B.M. Ship Ocean, off the Straits, May 4, 1806.

I have only now received the honour of the letter which your Majesty was pleased to write to me, and most truly lament that the circumstances of the war have been such as to expose your Majesty's kingdoms to so great peril; but in the wisdom of your Majesty's councils, the attachment of the brave Sicilians to their Monarch, and the powerful aid which is given by the British forces by sea and land, I hope your Majesty will find a defence against any attack of the enemy. The moment that I was informed that the

armies of your Majesty's allies had retired from Naples, I hastened to increase the naval force upon the coast of Sicily, with some of the best ships in the British fleet, commanded by Rear-Admiral Sir S. Smith, an officer of the most distinguished ability, in whose perseverance and gallantry your Majesty may place entire confidence. Besides those succours which I have sent directly to Sicily, there is a detachment of the British fleet gone up the coasts of Marseilles, Toulon, and Genoa, which I hope will have the good fortune to meet the enemy, should they be approaching Sicily from those quarters, and destroy them.

I beg to assure your Majesty that the happiness of your royal family, and the security of your dominions, are always near my heart, and the means of best accomplishing these objects my constant study.

I am ever your Majesty's most faithful and humble servant.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR JOHN ACTON.

Ocean, off the Straits, May 4, 1806.

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter of the 23d February, accompanied by one which His Majesty did me the honour to write to me on the subject of the defence of Sicily.

It is a subject, Sir, which has long engaged my most serious attention ; and on my part I have left nothing undone for the security of the dominions of His Sicilian Majesty against the destruction with which they are menaced by our common enemy. I cannot doubt the perfect protection which Sicily will derive from the formidable naval force which I have sent to her coasts, and the British army in her garrisons, commanded, as they are, by officers, vigilant, skilful, and determined : but, although these are powerful aids, much is

required to be done by the country itself. The population must be animated to its defence, not merely by the example of the British troops, but by the nobility and gentry engaging in the service of their Sovereign, and bearing the fatigues of war in common with the people, to whom an interest should be given in the preservation of the state, by ameliorating their condition by every possible means. Self-interest is a powerful stimulus, which pervades all human nature. Make those by whom the work must be performed at last, and who alone can give security and permanence to what is done, more happy ; give them a more perfect security for their property than they can hope for by any change, and their hearts will engage in the service, and Sicily be secure against the efforts of the enemy.

There is another circumstance, Sir, which I beg leave to state to you. From the best information I have, I am led to believe that the ports of Syracuse and Augusta are not only the most vulnerable points in the island, but they are ports which it is highly important to have in the best state of security, for the reception of the squadron and transports which may be employed on the coast of Sicily in the winter, and from which supplies of wood, water, and other necessaries, may be drawn. Their garrisons, therefore, should be put in the most perfect state of defence against an assault, which may be expected there rather than at Messina, where there is a body of fine troops to oppose them. The lively interest I feel for the safety of Sicily, and the happiness of its Sovereign, has led me to these suggestions on the subject of its defence, which I hope will be taken in good part by His Majesty, and considered as proceeding from my zeal for his service and my ardent desire to give security to his kingdom and happiness to his people.

TO THE RIGHT HON. C. ARBUTHNOT,

EMBASSADOR AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

Ocean, off Cadiz, May 5, 1806.

I have received the honour of your Excellency's letter of the 7th February last only by the last ship which came from Malta, with its enclosure, and take the earliest opportunity of replying to it, and giving you my best thanks for your kind congratulations on the important events which happened in October last, in the fleet under the command of my late lamented friend. These, with the subsequent successes of the fleet, are circumstances which I hope will be attended with the greatest benefit to the affairs of our country, and have a favourable influence on those which are more immediately under your Excellency's direction.

I am perfectly sensible of the good policy of manifesting the readiness and ability of our fleet to act wherever the course of events should require their service; but under the present circumstances, and with the number of ships I have, it is not possible for me to send such a squadron to the Dardanelles as I would gladly do were my situation here less critical.

The defence of Sicily, and the annoyance of the enemy on the coasts of France and Italy, being of the first importance, I have been obliged to appoint for that service a very large portion of my fleet.

The French have as yet no naval force of great consideration in the Mediterranean; but from all the intelligence I can get, it is an object so necessary to their operations, that they will run every risk to obtain it. To prevent them, I must keep a force with me equal to the destruction of whatever may attempt it. The Spaniards in my neighbourhood, both at Cadiz and Carthagená, are in such a state

as to require the utmost vigilance, and the fleet I have with me is not more than equal to this service. Whenever I have ships, I will endeavour to preserve as frequent a communication with Constantinople as possible, and leave you as little without a ship of war as the service will permit.

TO LADY COLLINGWOOD.

Ocean, May 22, 1806.

Though no day passes in which you have not my blessing and my prayers for your happiness, this day, which gave to the world so excellent a pattern of worth and goodness, will always be celebrated by me as a happy one; and I hope you will live many years to receive my congratulations, in health and as much comfort as may be in a state of warfare. I am cruising here, very anxious for something good to turn up. Some attempt of the French to get into the Mediterranean I think will be the first: my squadron is weak, but I will make the best of them. I have no Admiral with me now, but they certainly will send somebody here; and without some more line-of-battle ships I may be soon in distress. I am in very good health, considering that I have scarce put my foot on shore these three years; but my body grows weak and my limbs lady-like.

May 28.—As there was no opportunity for me to send my letter to England, I can hit two birds at once, in wishing my dear little Sarah many happy returns of this day, and that in every one she may have improved in goodness since the last. I cannot tell you how much pleasure her French letter gave me: I strictly enjoin her to write every day some translation of English into French, and the language will soon become familiar to her. It is the only thing

French she need possess, for there is little else from that country which I should wish her to love or imitate.

General Fox has sent me from Gibraltar Bonaparte's plan of operations for last summer. In every part it corresponds with what my idea of it was,—to unite all his fleets, mislead ours to the West Indies, push into the Channel, where he was to join the army, and proceed to England. My having blockaded them is stated as the reason why the plan was changed; and then their defeat put a complete end to what was intended to be adopted in exchange for it. Every prospect in Sicily is bad in the extreme. I shall never have any good prospect till I can get my darlings about me, and then perhaps I shall be almost blind and not able to see them.

Pray do not talk about the wound in my leg, or people may think that I am vapouring about my dangers. We are to have the medals for the last action, and I do not despair of getting another soon: I am the only officer in the service with three. How can I bless you as I love you?—Not in words,—they have not the power, and I must refer you to your own heart.

TO THE RIGHT HON. W. WINDHAM.

Ocean, off Cadiz, June 2, 1806.

As the Consul had left Algiers, I judged it necessary to discover what were the sentiments of the Dey towards the British from another quarter, and sent Captain Ogle, an officer of whose temper and penetration I had a good opinion, and whose spirit I knew would suffer nothing derogatory to the dignity of his nation.

In the letter which I wrote to the Dey I took the opportunity of awakening the suspicions of the Regency, of drawing their attention

to the progress which the French have made towards them, and introducing to their minds a subject (if it were not there before), which, however distant it may be, I have no doubt is in the contemplation and part of the plan of the French ruler; that is, to subjugate by degrees the African States, and possess the country on both sides the Mediterranean. This the Dey could not better prevent than by a firm attachment to England. The many advantages which we may derive from a friendship with the Barbary powers can only be preserved to us by having a resident of temperate and conciliating manners, one who will not make enemies by engaging in the party disputes of a country where revolutions are so frequent, that the probability is that in six months his adversaries will be in power.

The French have been for some time past paying great court to the Emperor of Morocco, sending people to Ash Ash, the Governor of Tetuan, to propose contracts for cattle, horses, &c., but more, I apprehend, to gain their esteem by the gentleness of their demeanour, to inform themselves of the capacity and disposition of the people with whom they have to treat, and to view the country. They were received with civility, but with that kind of reserve which indicates a suspicion of the danger which might arise from an intimate connexion. With such disposition in the Moors, a Consul at Tangier is much wanted, who could maintain our interests and counteract those efforts of the enemy.*

* Mr. Windham requested Lord Collingwood to nominate proper persons to the vacant consulships; a power which Lord Collingwood was desirous of declining.

FROM THE KING OF NAPLES.

MILORD COLLINGWOOD,

Palerme, 6 Juin, 1806.

J'ay reçu la lettre du 4 de May que vous avez voulu m'adresser. J'y vois, avec sensibilité et consolation, que vous prenez part aux malheurs qui m'affligent, et que vous avez bien pensé, et à temps, de prévenir d'autres calamités, en secourant la Sicile, et me munissant d'une défense navale, dont j'ay le plus grand et sérieux besoin, pendant qu'un corps de troupes Britanniques garnit les postes les plus exposés de ce royaume. Je confie vivement, pour moy et ma famille, dans les soins énergiques de mes alliés, et j'espère infiniment de l'efficacité que met à nous protéger le Contre-Amiral Chevalier Smith, que vous avez chargé de présider icy à ce qui concerne la sureté de la Sicile, ainsy qu'aux co-opérations que pourront me procurer le recouvrement du royaume de Naples, auquel tendent tous mes souhaits, soins, et tous mes vœux. Recevez, Milord, mes remercimens pour l'appuy que vous étendez sur les côtes de Provence et de Gênes, afin de surveiller ainsy de ce côté à ma défense. Je suis vivement sensible à tout ce que vous opérez, et voulez bien exprimer sur la protection que je regarde comme si utile et indispensable de la part des forces navales Britanniques. Veuillez continuer, comme je ne puis en douter, à me seconder ainsy, et recevoir toutes les vives assurances de ma reconnoissance pour vos soins. Je prie sur ce Dieu, qu'il vous ait en sa sainte et digne garde.

Votre affectionné

FERDINAND.

TO LORD RADSTOCK.

Ocean, June 8, 1806.

I am much obliged to you for your very kind and long letter of the 5th of May. Captain ——— appears to me to be as heavy a youth as I have seen. He has already got beyond the bounds of his ability; yet his father, I dare say, thinks him qualified to conduct a fleet. But if some regard be not paid to the ability of those commanders, their ships had better be in Porchester Lake. I have sent several home, because they were not only of no use, but were constant plagues. Your son will set them a very good example; I am sure he will of diligence. I keep him very strictly at his duty, and he is very active. We shall, perhaps, have something to do here before long, for the Spaniards are preparing a very fine squadron at Cadiz: ten appear to be quite ready. The more of them the better. I only hope I shall have a force, not merely to fight them, but to extirpate them from the face of the waters. I am much obliged to you, my dear Lord, for your kind intention of making my wishes known about the succession of my title: it certainly would be very gratifying to me, as I have not a son, to be remembered through my daughters. At the same time, I would not appear to set a higher value on my services than His Majesty has estimated them at, or to look for a reward beyond what had flowed from his gracious regard of them. I did long since write to Lord Barham on the subject, and have no doubt that, but for Mr. Pitt's illness, it would have been done. Lord Barham did not explain himself much in reply to me; but in a letter I received from his Lordship, after the change of Ministry, he said that my request had been attended to by His Majesty's Ministers.

FROM SIR JOHN ACTON.*

Palermo, June 13, 1806.

I have been honoured with your Lordship's favour of the 4th of last month. I should have answered sooner, but the *Endymion* frigate, which was to sail for Gibraltar, having been detained, I profit of the excellent and the good Captain Sotheron, to whose attention, experience, and zeal, we owe so much, to present your Lordship with His Majesty's letter here enclosed.

I am exceedingly obliged to you, my Lord, for the kind and excellent advices which you are so good to direct to me on our defence, and the best means to insure it, by the dispositions well adapted of our Nobility for presenting example and means to the people for the defence of this island. You are, I am sure, my Lord, apprised with the particular constitution of this island. Many abuses, but of most ancient establishments, have kept this kingdom in a situation which required amendments. Circumstances particular to King Charles, father of this Sovereign, have deferred applications to this important matter. Sixteen years since the French Revolution, and among all the intended measures for seduction in every country, have obliged the Government to suspend any innovation in these critical times, which would have caused pretences for disgust. Every thing, however, must be employed to animate the Sicilians of all descriptions to their defence. We are going to open the Parliament, which meets every four years, and shall endeavour to promote every measure which may answer to your Lordship's good and wise purposes.

* Sir John Acton wrote in English, being an Englishman, though long resident abroad.

TO LADY COLLINGWOOD.

Ocean, June 16, 1806.

This day, my love, is the anniversary of our marriage, and I wish you many happy returns of it. If ever we have peace, I hope to spend my latter days amid my family, which is the only sort of happiness I can enjoy. After this life of labour, to retire to peace and quietness is all I look for in the world. Should we decide to change the place of our dwelling, our route would of course be to the southward of Morpeth: but then I should be for ever regretting those beautiful views, which are no where to be exceeded; and even the rattling of that old waggon that used to pass our door at 6 o'clock in a winter's morning had its charms. The fact is, whenever I think how I am to be happy again, my thoughts carry me back to Morpeth, where, out of the fuss and parade of the world, surrounded by those I loved most dearly and who loved me, I enjoyed as much happiness as my nature is capable of. Many things that I see in the world give me a distaste to the finery of it. The great knaves are not like those poor unfortunates, who, driven perhaps to distress from accidents which they could not prevent, or at least not educated in principles of honour and honesty, are hanged for some little thievery; while a knave of education and high breeding, who brandishes his honour in the eyes of the world, would rob a state to its ruin. For the first, I feel pity and compassion; for the latter, abhorrence and contempt: they are the tenfold vicious.

Have you read—but what I am more interested about, is your sister with you, and is she well and happy? Tell her—God bless her!—I wish I were with you, that we might have a good laugh. God bless me! I have scarcely laughed these three years. I am here,

with a very reduced force, having been obliged to make detachments to all quarters. This leaves me weak, while the Spaniards and French within are daily gaining strength. They have patched and pieced until they have now a very considerable fleet. Whether they will venture out I do not know: if they come, I have no doubt we shall do an excellent deed, and then I will bring them to England myself.

How do the dear girls go on? I would have them taught geometry, which is of all sciences in the world the most entertaining: it expands the mind more to the knowledge of all things in nature, and better teaches to distinguish between truths and such things as have the appearance of being truths, yet are not, than any other. Their education, and the proper cultivation of the sense which God has given them, are the objects on which my happiness most depends. To inspire them with a love of every thing that is honourable and virtuous, though in rags, and with contempt for vanity in embroidery, is the way to make them the darlings of my heart. They should not only read, but it requires a careful selection of books; nor should they ever have access to two at the same time: but when a subject is begun, it should be finished before any thing else is undertaken. How would it enlarge their minds, if they could acquire a sufficient knowledge of mathematics and astronomy to give them an idea of the beauty and wonders of the creation! I am persuaded that the generality of people, and particularly fine ladies, only adore God because they are told it is proper and the fashion to go to church; but I would have my girls gain such knowledge of the works of the creation, that they may have a fixed idea of the nature of that Being who could be the author of such a world. Whenever they have that, nothing on this side the moon will give them much uneasiness

of mind. I do not mean that they should be Stoics, or want the common feelings for the sufferings that flesh is heir to ; but they would then have a source of consolation for the worst that could happen.

Tell me how do the trees which I planted thrive ? Is there shade under the three oaks for a comfortable summer seat ? Do the poplars grow at the walk, and does the wall of the terrace stand firm ? My bankers tell me that all my money in their hands is exhausted by fees on the peerage, and that I am in their debt, which is a new epoch in my life, for it is the first time I was ever in debt since I was a Midshipman. Here I get nothing ; but then my expenses are nothing, and I do not want it, particularly now that I have got my knives, forks, teapot, and the things you were so kind as to send me.

TO LORD HOWICK.

Ocean, off Cadiz, July 3, 1806.

I have received the honour of your Lordship's letter to me of the 9th ultimo. In the communications which your Lordship has made in that letter I have much to thank you for. In the first place, I beg to offer your Lordship my acknowledgments for what you say on the subject of the descent of my title, in which I was much interested. Lord Spencer's reply to my letter is the same in substance as your Lordship's. Perhaps on some future occasion, to which I look forward with hope and expectation, the request may not be improper.

With respect to Sicily, I thought the best means of giving their Lordships a thorough knowledge of the state of affairs there was to send to the Admiralty the original papers which were of importance. Your Lordship, without doubt, is well informed of the politics of that country. The King and his Minister, Sir John Acton, consider the

defence of Sicily as the great object of their care ; while the Queen's party (in which I understand certain French are supposed to have considerable influence) still entertain hopes of recovering Naples, either by arms or negociations. Gaëta is held by the Prince of Hesse, where the French just keep a force sufficient to make it a drain to carry off the resources of Sicily. They receive at Palermo frequent information of the loyalty of the Calabrians, and the resistance they make to the French establishing themselves amongst them. Yet when they were armed and embodied they made none.

By the Chevalier Rossi's letters to Mr. Elliot, they have reason to apprehend an assault upon Sardinia ; and I dare say the enemy takes pains to propagate stories to confirm this opinion ; but I suspect them all to be deception, by which if they could divide our force, in defending Sardinia or supporting the insurgents in Calabria, there would be so much the less to resist them where I believe they will alone make a serious attack. With this impression on my mind, I shall caution Sir S. Smith against too great extension of the line-of-battle ships.

Sir S. Smith has taken possession of Capri, in the Bay of Naples, a post which I dare say may be very useful in the summer months ; but 2000 inhabitants, as well as the garrison, must be victualled, I apprehend from Sicily, in the winter.

TO LORD RADSTOCK.

Ocean, July 5, 1806.

I have received the letter which your Lordship has written to me, enclosing the note of your amiable sister, and give you both my best thanks for your kind intention to me. I confess I was a little afraid of appearing to press upon His Majesty's favour

more than I ought to do: but I am fully sensible of your goodness, my dear Lord, in endeavouring to procure for me what you know I was anxious to obtain. I had written to Lords Spencer and Howick on the subject, and received from them both kind and satisfactory letters: indeed, I was satisfied with myself the moment I had stated my wishes; and if they were not complied with, I dare say they ought not to have been. Now I must look for the means of calling His Majesty's attention to me, and with God's blessing I will before the year is out: I am in the field for it, and hope for every thing.

I have the pleasure to tell you that Captain Waldegrave is very well; he is upon my advanced post just now, for I can trust any thing to his zeal. Did he tell you what a lecture I gave him? I thought it proper to do so, though I was very much pleased with him. He fell in with a gun-boat convoy and knocked them all to pieces, killed a great many men, and destroyed several boats; but in doing it he got ashore, and was very near losing his ship. In the lecture I gave him I wished to impress on his mind that he should never risk beyond the value of the object; and meant by it to temper his zeal with a little discretion. The Spaniards are getting on here in a most astonishing way; they have ten sail ready to come out. But will they come? It will be a happy day. Sicily gives me many an anxious hour; but General Fox and Sir John Moore are gone up, so that they have all the advantages of ability and military skill. In a letter I had from Sir John Acton he informed me that their Parliament was to assemble, and he hoped for great good from their resolutions. The two regiments that are gone up lately will do them much more,

TO THE RIGHT HON. W. WINDHAM.

Ocean, off Cadiz, July 10, 1806.

The Unité joined the squadron to-day, having returned from her mission to Algiers and Constantinople. Captain Ogle informs me that the Dey expressed himself highly gratified in the mark of friendship which had been shewn him in taking his Ambassador to the Porte, gave him every assurance of his sincere friendship to the English, and liberated, at Captain Ogle's request, six Sicilians, who were all of that nation who were in captivity. The Dey was particularly anxious to know how he was to conduct himself towards the English privateers which came there, and whether to allow them to sell their prizes. Those Mediterranean privateers are manned with the ruffians of all its coasts, and, although a great annoyance to the enemy, commit depredations which are sometimes very irregular. If they were allowed to sell their captures in Barbary, it would be without condemnation or inquiry into the property, and would give a latitude to their violence which would be highly improper. I shall request, therefore, that he will deal kindly and hospitably by them, providing for their wants, and allowing them to depart with their captures and prisoners. I have, however, a doubt on my mind, whether, by the law of nations, prisoners carried into a neutral port can properly be detained.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY HUGH ELLIOTT, ESQ.

Ocean, off Cadiz, July 20, 1806.

The armament which the French is preparing in every part of the Adriatic is very great, and might lead us to suspect that more is intended than the attack of Sicily. That assemblage of

force at Capraia, whatever veil they may throw over its destination, by menacing Sardinia with such studied publicity, is doubtless intended for the same service, and will be put in motion at the same time. I doubt Sardinia being the object of it, not from any tenderness of the French Ruler towards that Monarch, but that there are other objects of far greater consequence. But I do not think it improbable that while they are alarming Sardinia and threatening Sicily, their real destination may be Egypt; and if they can engage our ships in the defence of Gaëta, and draw their attention to armaments, perhaps more in show than substance, on the west coast of Italy, they may hope from the Adriatic to escape unmolested to Alexandria.

I doubt the policy of retaining possession of Capri, or how that island, without a port, or any shelter for ships, is to prevent the coasting carriage; and a question will arise before long, How are the inhabitants to be victualled in the winter?

The hope which the Queen and the Prince still fondly entertain of regaining (in the present state of Europe) possession of the kingdom of Naples, appears to me to be the vainest dream that ever entered the imagination of a woman. When they possessed it, with all the resources of the country at their command, with the (professed, at least,) loyalty of an armed people, and the army of the allies at their head, it was abandoned as untenable: and now that the Country is disarmed, every person supposed to be yet attached to their Prince removed from it, and the enemy possessing every place of strength, on what foundation can the hope of success be built? Let her beware of counsels which I suspect are of French origin, and of the people from whom they come. Whatever can diffuse the limited force and scanty resources of Sicily, or distract her councils, is favourable to the enemy, and may be suspected to come from them.

TO LADY COLLINGWOOD.

Ocean, off Cadiz, September 13, 1806.

When I have told you I am upon my old station, and pretty well in health, I have nothing left in the way of news. I was in great expectation that the French squadron from the West Indies would come this way; but I despair of them now. Those in Cadiz are strong enough to come out if they like; but the hope they have of peace makes them defer their expeditions for the present. Lord St. Vincent is at Lisbon, from whom I often receive very kind and friendly letters. He is endeavouring to inspire a decayed Government with vigour, and to give strength to a nerveless arm. I am told the Queen of Naples expects to be re-seated on her throne, and has engaged to shew her gratitude to —, by creating him a Sicilian Duke, and giving him an estate. If they offer me a Dukedom, I tell you beforehand how I will shew them what my estimation of it is. I shall reply, after returning my thanks for the intended honour, that I am the servant of my Sovereign alone, and can receive no rewards from a foreign Prince. If, in obeying the commands of the King, I render benefit to his allies, the acknowledgment of it must be highly gratifying to me; but that is all the reward I can accept from any Prince but my own. They have not revenue to defend their Country, and are perpetually craving to me for money; instead of which I give them good advice, and shew them how to enrich their Country, and make their people happy. If they had ability to govern a state, they would not be in the wretched condition they are: but if Mount Ætna were made of gold, they would still be poor; for they have not discretion to manage their finances.

TO J. E. BLACKETT, ESQ.

Ocean, off Cadiz, September 25, 1806.

Nothing worth notice has happened since I wrote, and this sameness of scene wearies me exceedingly. It is the dullest life that can be conceived, and nothing but the utmost patience can endure it. Now, as we are not all patient, a great many anxious eyes and longing looks are cast towards England. The hope of peace raised our spirits a little; but it did not last long: and I despair of seeing it, unless it should please God to take Buonaparte from the world: for it is his personal ambition and rooted enmity to England that prolong the war. My last letter from my wife informed me of her return to Morpeth, after having shewn my girls a good deal of the world. I expect a great deal of pleasure some day in reading little Sarah's journal. Nothing more improves the mind and exercises the judgment, than for young persons to keep a diary, not only to note events, but to add their comments on them; and I expect such a one from Sarah, which will be more valuable to me than all the books in Chirton library. I have written a long letter to Admiral Roddam, informing him of the state of the fleets here, which I think will make his mouth water to have a touch at the Dons. They are getting so strong, that I have little doubt of their coming out, and a blessed day it will be: but they must not run too fast; for many of my ships are bad sailers, nor can my feeble limbs carry me about for two or three days and nights as they used to do. I dare say I have more of the decrepitude of age than the Admiral would have had but for his accident. You will have seen the accounts of General Stuart's action, which was a most gallant thing, and proved the superiority of British troops; but as we could not keep an army there,

I am afraid the sufferings of the Calabrians will be increased by our having made them take a part against their enemy which they were not in a condition to maintain. I had a letter from Garter King at Arms, desiring me to apply for an honourable augmentation of arms; and I have answered, that although it would be very flattering to me, I am afraid that in applying for it I shall appear to assume too much, and to set too high a value, in my own mind, on those services which, in fact, I never considered but as a mere duty. If the making such application can be construed as urging that which was never intended for me, I must decline it; but if it be a matter of course, and the ordinary way in which such things are obtained, I shall value it much. I am thinking what we are to do for the next battle, which I am not without hope will be ere long.

TO LORD HOWICK.

Ocean, off Cadiz, October 1, 1806.

The enemy's squadron in Cadiz have moved down within these few days to the outward part of the harbour; and as they appear to be completely ready, I think it probable they will make a push to sea some dark night, for I have no doubt they will endeavour to get squadrons out to Africa, the West Indies, and the Ocean, as they did last year, for the annoyance and destruction of the trade. Your Lordship may depend upon it that I will keep the most strict look-out for them.

The despatches from Sicily, which arrived by the Thunderer, will give your Lordship a perfect view of the state of affairs there. Whatever establishments the French had in Calabria have been destroyed, and they have been driven from the country by the Massi: but I am afraid this irregular body, without order or discipline, will not be able

to maintain those advantages by the desultory warfare they carry on. The best mode of keeping the French in a state of impotence in that country is by a strict guard upon the coast, which I have directed, to prevent their navigation as much as possible. By what I hear of the intrigues of the Court of Sicily, as much danger to that island is to be feared from the wavering and irresolute councils of the Ministry at Palermo as from the enemy. The Queen's party I understand now prevails, many of whom are French; and Sir John Acton, who was considered as the Minister who preserved the King from being led away by the caprices of the Queen and her adherents, and advised him for the true interests of his Country, is dismissed from the Ministry; while Monsieur St. Clair, a Frenchman, in the ostensible character of preceptor to the Prince, is the Queen's adviser, and the respectability of the Government is daily lessened.

TO REAR-ADMIRAL SIR W. SIDNEY SMITH.

Ocean, off Cadiz, October 7, 1806.

I am very glad to find, by your detail of proceedings on the coast of Calabria, that all or nearly all the places of strength and defence on the coast are dismantled and destroyed, which will make the hold which the French may again get of the country less secure, and any disembarkation of troops by us less difficult. This destruction of the coast defences is indeed an important service, well executed, in which Captain Hoste has acted with his usual promptitude and zeal.

The fall of Gaëta did not surprise me. I considered it as a thing of course to happen upon any reverse of fortune: its defence, in fact, depended solely upon the preservation of the Prince of Hesse, and its surrender was the natural consequence of the anarchy which took

place on his being wounded. All subordination appears then to have ceased; and it is not easy to discover with whom the command rested, until the Sicilians determined that question by delivering up the place to the enemy. What I most lament is, that the English officers of the fleet were placed in a situation where they could have no authority over the Neapolitan garrison, and were unavoidably made witnesses of the disgrace of its surrender. Independently of the point of honour in defending it, I do not think the place was of sufficient value to balance the expense. It took the ships from services of more importance, exhausted Sicily of every kind of store for war, and reduced our naval strength by landing the guns and men; so that altogether, if it could be held only by such means, perhaps there was profit in its fall.

You mention that the King of the Sicilies has vested certain powers in you. No officer is better qualified than you are to judge of the great importance, in all services of co-operation, of maintaining the best and most friendly correspondence with all parties, which can only be done by each strictly observing the true and legitimate line of his own duty. The Ambassador of our King is instructed how he is to treat with the Court, and to settle with the Government what measures shall be pursued. When the plans of operation are to be executed, the Naval and Military Commanders are then to decide upon the manner of performing their respective branches of that service. This I conceive to be the proper course to be pursued, and every deviation from it will necessarily produce uneasiness somewhere, which is detrimental to the service. It is with great concern I hear His Majesty has dismissed Sir John Acton from his councils, a Minister whom I have always understood to be firmly attached to His Majesty's interests, and who had preserved him from the factions with which

France had endeavoured to embroil the Court. He appears to possess more ability and knowledge of the true interests of Sicily than any statesman in it; for he knew that Sicily, unable in the conflict of nations to stand alone, could nowhere so firmly depend for succour as on England.

Having given you my sentiments on what relates to Sicily, I shall now turn to the fleet, the situation of which I consider as extremely delicate. The Spaniards at Carthagena have dismantled two ships, that the crews may be added to the six which remain. Though I could easily believe that Court would gladly refrain from taking an active part against Sicily, yet that must not be depended on; for so entirely is Spain under the domination of Buonaparte, that if they are ordered to join the four French ships at Toulon, they must go. At Cadiz, twelve sail of the line, with some troops embarked in them, four frigates, and two bomb-vessels, are perfectly ready to put to sea. When Athenien leaves me, I shall have nine ships and two frigates to meet them with. What their destination is I have no information of; it may be the Mediterranean, where, if they can join the ten ships now there, they would be very formidable. There are also six ships of Villaumez' squadron yet at sea, and when they were last seen, on the 26th September, off the Western Islands, were steering to the S.E.: there is every reason to believe their destination is to this quarter. In this state of the enemy, you will see the necessity of having the squadron under your orders in the best possible condition for service, and not too much extended to distant points, except where the look-out is to be kept.

TO LORD RADSTOCK.

Ocean, off Cadiz, October 18, 1806.

I have kept your son near me that I might keep him always on the alert, and now I find he is become necessary to me; for when I want a business done with expedition, or a point watched with a particular care, he is the first that comes to my recollection. With this opinion of him, you will believe that, independently of my regard and esteem for you, I feel a sincere desire on his own account to do him a service. I have a most anxious time of it at present; but my whole life has been a life of care. I hardly know what it is that the world calls pleasures; and when I have done with my sea affairs, the only idea I have of delight on shore is in the enjoyment of a few friends in the bosom of my family, where I can see my daughters. In them is the source of my future happiness, and I believe a source that will not fail me: but all this is to be when I come on shore. In the mean time I must keep the spirit of the war up as well as I can. I have lately had but a scanty force, much less than was intended for me; but so many squadrons have been wanted, that no doubt the difficulty in finding ships for them all has been great. I have ten ships in all employed here, and cannot keep them up at this season without two being absent for victualling; so that I have eight left, to keep at bay twelve of the enemy. I am sorry for the removal of Lord Howick from the Admiralty to be Secretary of State; because I had made (as it were) my acquaintance with him. My correspondence with his Lordship was free and confidential; and I believe he was assured that such as my abilities are, they are exerted for the public service; that I have no ambition—no interest—but what is connected with it. The present First Lord cannot know any thing

of me: but I hope he will give me a few more ships; for I have long thought we are trusting rather too much to the inactivity of the Spaniards. That Carthagenia squadron might give us a great deal of trouble, if they were to make a spirited dash; but they were once very near tricked into a scrape, and have been very shy since. I have not heard lately from Sicily. The last account was so far satisfactory, that the defence of the island was the principal object in the officers commanding; and Quixoting amongst the poor Calabrians was given up. I say the poor Calabrians, because I think a loyal people have been led to certain danger and ruin, by being made to take arms, when there was no army or means to give them permanent support.

TO LADY COLLINGWOOD.

Ocean, October 25, 1806.

I rejoiced to hear that you and all my family were well. I could have been very, very happy indeed to have been with you; but when is that blessed day to come? I received a letter from ———, to thank me for the presents I had sent, and I must thank you most heartily for having anticipated me in that which I would gladly have done myself if I had been there. Oh! my Sarah, how I admire in you that kindness of heart and generosity that delights to give pleasure to those you love! You will, you do understand me, that if ever I mention the word economy, it is that you should always be enabled to do a kind and handsome thing when the occasion arises; and none know how to do so better than you. I shall never have length of life enough to tell you how I love in you those virtues that are every day my admiration. With respect to that matter in which we are jointly interested, I cannot but wonder at ———'s unreasonableness in requiring 600*l.* per annum for that which

we have hitherto been content to let for 80%: but they will outwit themselves; for I would not, for all the collieries in Northumberland, be a party to such an extortion. A fair increase of rent is allowable; but this demand is beyond all bounds. I have written enough about money; and, between ourselves, Sarah, I believe there is more plague in it than comfort, and that the limits of our Morpeth garden and the lawn would have afforded us as much happiness as we shall ever have. I have lived long enough in the world to know that human happiness has nothing to do with exteriors: then let us cultivate it in our minds. The Parliamentary grant is, I own, lessened in my estimation, when it is only shared by those who laboured, in common with those who did nothing. The honour of the thing is lost, and it only becomes a mere matter of money. But they have used us shabbily about that whole business; for the poor seamen who fought a battle that set all England in an uproar, and all the poets and painters at work, have not at this moment received one sixpence of prize money. I mean those who are here; for I do not know what they have done for them in England, as I never hear any thing about it.

TO LORD HOWICK.

Ocean, November 4, 1806.

I felt very averse to leaving this station while there was any appearance of the enemy coming out of Cadiz; but as your Lordship is of opinion they will not stir, I shall leave Sir John Duckworth here to watch them, and myself proceed to Sicily, where, if any hostility should appear on the part of the Turks, I shall be more conveniently stationed. The letter I received lately from Mr. Arbuthnot stated the affairs of Constantinople to be in a very critical situation; such, he thought, as indicated an inclination in the Divan

to form an alliance with France; and as he expressed an opinion that the appearance of a squadron in the Dardanelles at this juncture would probably be attended with the most beneficial effects, I lost no time in despatching Sir Thomas Louis with three sail of the line, a frigate, and sloop, — that should the Porte determine unfavourably to the British interest, a force may be there to give protection to our trade and merchants in that country.

The Russians are in the greatest degree inactive; they have, indeed, had a squadron at sea, but with little effect in giving annoyance to the enemy. They have no desire to accommodate us in any thing, and lately refused to let a few prisoners be landed in any of the islands, or allow a vessel which had sprung a leak, and was unfit to proceed to Malta, to be hove down there. But these things, I hope, arise merely from the temper of individuals, and not from the disposition of the Court. I shall endeavour, by a contrary proceeding, to conciliate them; and whenever they come into a British port, shew them every attention and give them every aid in my power. In the spring, I wrote a civil letter to Admiral Siniavin, expressing my desire that a friendly correspondence might be maintained; but he took no notice of my letter to him. I have, however, written to him again, informing him of the squadron expected from the Baltic, and of the orders I had received to shew them every friendly regard, if they put into any of our ports, and how happy I shall be in being any way useful to them.

TO J. E. BLACKETT, ESQ.

Ocean, November 7, 1806.

It gave me great pleasure to find by your last letters that you were so youthful and strong as to take walks, which, I believe, are past my ability. I shall never be able to contend in the field with you again. We are going on here in our usual way, watching an enemy who, I begin to suspect, has no intention of coming out; and I am almost worn out with impatience and the constant being at sea. I have devoted myself faithfully to my Country's service; but it cannot last much longer, for I grow weak and feeble, and shall soon only be fit to be nursed and live in quiet retirement; for, having been so long out of the world, I believe I shall be found totally unfit to live in it. But I do not care; I trust my dear Sarah and my daughters will be kind to me, and I shall look no farther for comfort. I have for some time past desired to send a gift to the charitable institutions at Newcastle, in token of my respect for my countrymen; but a letter from my bankers, informing me that the stream was dry, prevented my doing it before; but now I transmit 100*l.*, of which I wish to subscribe 20*l.* for the monument of my worthy master, Mr. Moises, and to present the remaining 80*l.* to the Fever, Lying-in Hospitals, Dispensary, and Infirmary. I am very sorry Lord Howick has left the Admiralty, because I appeared to have gained his confidence, and he was on all occasions particularly attentive to me. Of the First Lord who has succeeded him I know nothing: indeed I have always avoided having any connexion with the intrigues of statesmen. The letter of my orders is my guide; and when I cannot have orders I exercise my best judgment, and have hitherto been successful. This fine new ship is built and secured in a way that will

not succeed; a gale of wind which we lately had, broke all her bolts, and has done her much harm; but, as I never go into port, I have sent for materials to repair her here. I am weak in force; but whenever I get a reinforcement, I have it in contemplation to seek the enemy, for I cannot come at him here, shut up in Cadiz. They seem to have taken up their winter quarters. ——— has been behaving very ill. He has been twice in confinement, and was to have been tried by a court martial, but I begged him off; and he has written me a very penitent letter, promising amendment. The fact is, that these boys are made Lieutenants too soon, and before their heads can bear their good fortune. It seems so easy to them, that they do not set that value on their situation which they ought. I stand between them and danger as much as I can, but they have still, unfortunately, the power to ruin themselves.

TO LORD HOWICK.

Ocean, off Cadiz, November 26, 1806.

I have received the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 16th ultimo, and cannot sufficiently thank your Lordship for the kind interest you are pleased to take in my welfare, or express the high gratification I feel that my conduct and communications to your Lordship, while presiding at the Admiralty, have been such as met your approbation. If they satisfied your Lordship that I take a warm and lively interest in whatever relates to my duty, and that my constant study is to do that which will best promote His Majesty's service, I am, and ought to be, perfectly content. It sometimes happens, that circumstances are so connected with general politics, that for persons bred as we are, seamen and not statesmen, great allowances must be made by His Majesty's Ministers. It was

your Lordship's free and friendly communications, which, making the subject familiar, gave me confidence in the execution, and I hope I shall receive the like advantages from Mr. Grenville.

I am much obliged to your Lordship for the kind offer of service personally to me. If it should be my good fortune, by any future success, to obtain the regard and attention of His Majesty, your Lordship is already possessed of what would be most gratifying to me, by the letter which I took the liberty of writing to your Lordship in the spring.

TO J. E. BLACKETT, ESQ.

Ocean, off Cadiz, December 9, 1806.

I am very much obliged to you for the trouble you have been so good as to take about Chirton and the colliery. I have but little information on the subject, and am so far removed that I cannot give particular directions; but, as a general principle, I wish, that in the changes which the working this colliery may make, as few of the people who are established in the houses belonging to me, and are of respectable character, should be removed as possible. Let them have the offer of such public houses as are, or may be, vacant; but I do not think it would be common justice to turn out those already established; nor would I consent to it for any increase of rent, however great.

I have little to tell you from here; the enemy's squadron are quite ready for sea, but in the upper part of the harbour, out of the way of storms; while we contrive to watch them, that they may not go out without an encounter. A battle is really nothing to the fatigue and anxiety of such a life as we lead. It is now nearly thirteen months since I let go an anchor, and, for what I see, it may be as

much longer. They are increasing their navy daily, while ours is wearing out. The scarcity of timber for our ships is daily increasing, and I am afraid my oaks will not be of sufficient growth for the supply of this war. I have written a letter to old Scott to inquire about my trees and garden.

We shall hear no more, I trust, of our sending great armies and expeditions to distant colonies, at a time when all our powers should be concentrated at home. It is not as it was in former wars, when France was to be subdued in her colonies. Her ruler acts on very different principles: his force is collected; he sends no armies to succour or defend colonies; his object is to strike at the heart and not at the extremities; and he would, I dare say, see with great satisfaction half the troops in England employed, even successfully, in conquering Mexico itself.

TO LADY COLLINGWOOD.

Ocean, off Cadiz, December 20, 1806.

You need not be uneasy about my small force here, but cherish the hope and expectation that I may have a happy meeting with the enemy. They must be kept down as much as possible at sea, and I trust in God to give us a fair opportunity to do it. I have lately had a most anxious time about the Turks. The accounts I received from the Ambassador stated war with them to be inevitable, and I despatched that instant a squadron under Sir T. Louis, to present himself before the Seraglio. A squadron of English men of war must have a fine effect in a Seraglio! But, before they had got up, Mr. Arbuthnot informed him that he had composed all differences; but he proceeded on, according to my order, of which I am very glad. Landless has taken an exceedingly good prize, a boat

from La Vera Cruz, very small, but laden with cochineal, indigo, &c., which will give him more prize money than I have got since I came out, except for Trafalgar. I suppose when the spring opens you will be moving to Chirton; and I hope you will not have a steam-engine in front, to lull you with its noise, instead of those delightful black-birds whose morning and evening song made my heart gay. I will do what I can for ——'s friend, but I have very little in my power. The vacancies which happen are in no proportion to the applications for them. I have not made a Captain, except Landless, since this time twelvemonth, nor has a Lieutenant been removed from my ship, except one who, seeing very little prospect of succeeding here, applied to go home, and try his fortune elsewhere. It is very agreeable to me to hear that you are taking care of my oaks, and transplanting them to Hethpoole. If ever I get back I will plant a good deal there in patches; but before that can happen you and I shall be in the churchyard, planted under some old yew tree.

This is my second Christmas at sea, without having been even at anchor; and, unless it shall please God to take the Corsican out of this world, I see no prospect of a change. A ship sailed yesterday from Cadiz for Lima with British goods, having a passport from the King. The Captain came to me to shew his pass, and request a convoy to see him clear of the French privateers, which he understood were looking out for him. What an odd war this is! A Spanish ship coming to the English fleet to seek protection from the depredations of their great ally!

TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

Ocean, December 22, 1806.

The Court at Palermo are sanguine in their hope of immediately recovering the kingdom of Naples; but as to depending for support on the army of the Sicilians, they probably have not more confidence in it than I have. I do not mean to question the bravery or loyalty of the men, but their general discipline and training to war have not yet fitted them to meet the French. They might carry on for a length of time a predatory and sanguinary war, which would irritate parties and depopulate the country; but, as in those enterprises no permanent security could be given to the King's friends, they would be continually left to the resentment of the enemy, and daily diminished in number. Until a military force can be spared from the defence of Sicily, equal in power to take possession of Naples, and to maintain a permanent establishment, any desultory war carried on in districts is injurious to the King's cause, and throws to a greater distance the object which is so much desired.

I have no doubt that at the Court there is a great deal of intrigue. The King, impatient to be restored to his throne of Naples, will always find courtly people about him to flatter him with the early accomplishment of his desire, without wasting a thought on the means; while others will advise what best suits their individual interests. To these he will be too apt to listen eagerly; but, as English officers, we have little to do with their councils. His Sicilian Majesty's Ministers will make his proposals to our Ambassador; and when the political questions of state are arranged, the sea and land Commanders will consult together as to the policy and practicability of

the warlike measures which are proposed, always keeping in view their distinct duties and original orders.

TO LORD RADSTOCK.

Ocean, off Cadiz, December 29, 1806.

I have to thank your Lordship for two most kind letters of October, in which the expressions of regard and esteem for me are most grateful to my heart. There is nothing I more desire than the friendship of honest and honourable men; and to obtain it, I can conscientiously say that the study and rule of my life has been, in the first place, to do justice to all men, in all cases, and, when occasion and opportunity offered, to oblige by acts of kindness, and to assist those who appeared to be worthy of regard. But we who know in what a trickish world we live, know too that this sort of conduct will not do for the great popular roar of applause. I could never humble myself to court it, and am content to proceed in the direct course which my judgment points out to me without it. No personal consideration has ever interfered with my duty; and I consider the present temper of the times to require that every private sacrifice should be made for the public service. I, therefore, have not, nor ever had, the smallest intention of abandoning my situation while I am thought capable of conducting the duty of it. I had heard from all quarters that I was going home, except from the Admiralty: there I had every reason to believe my proceedings met with full approbation. Lord Howick, on leaving that office, wrote to me a letter, which was very flattering to me, inviting me to continue my correspondence in matters relating to the political state of affairs here. Your son is as promising an officer as any in the service; the labours of his duty have made him skilful,

and he has no tricks or vices to set against his good qualities. He is young, but he has as much knowledge as half the veterans; and, above all, he never expects the service to bend to his convenience, which has been the reason why he has fagged more than any Commander here. Whatever is wanted, he is ready: his employments have not been very profitable to him, but he has established his character as an officer, which is of more importance to him than any thing else.

I apprehend the Spanish Court has no desire to engage in any maritime expedition: they consider themselves at the mercy of the tyrant, and wait patiently the event of things, without rousing the wrath which they cannot appease. The French officers have no intercourse with the Spaniards at Cadiz, except such as the service and the mere forms of distant civility require. I can tell you little of our affairs in Sicily: perhaps I think worse of that Court than they deserve; but I confess I have no great opinion either of their wisdom or good faith. The King is a cipher. General Acton, when Minister, maintained the connexion with England, and, as I understand, had much more ability than any who can be found to succeed him. The intrigues of the Queen, and the Frenchmen by whom she is surrounded, turned him out. Happily they have little power left to do mischief; but it is impossible to say what sacrifice they would not make to obtain the forbearance of Buonaparte. The French people about her, I have heard, correspond regularly with France. Some time since they were very importunate to be supported by our army in an invasion of Naples, the King expressing his deep concern lest the morals of his people should be corrupted by communication with the French. God bless him, honest King! He might have begun his correction nearer home.

TO J. E. BLACKETT, ESQ.

Ocean, January 1, 1807.

I cannot begin this new year so much to my satisfaction as by offering my congratulations to you on your birthday, and my best wishes that you may enjoy health to see many happy returns of it. I hope you are with my beloved family enjoying yourselves in great comfort; and long may you live uninvaded by the sounds of war. What a blessed day it will be to me when we shall all meet together to celebrate the new year, to talk of the privations we have suffered in times past, and have only to look forward to blessings for the future. I have lived now so long in a ship, always engaged in serious employments, that I shall be unfit for any thing but the quiet society of my family: it is to them that I look for happiness, if ever I am relieved from this anxious and boisterous life, and in them I hope for every thing. Tell the children that Bounce is very well and very fat, yet he seems not to be content, and sighs so piteously these long evenings, that I am obliged to sing him to sleep, and have sent them the song.

Sigh no more, Bouncey, sigh no more,
Dogs were deceivers never;
Though ne'er you put one foot on shore,
True to your master ever.
Then sigh not so, but let us go
Where dinner's daily ready,
Converting all the sounds of woe
To heigh phiddy diddy!

It is impossible that at this distance I can direct and manage the education of my daughters; but it costs me many an anxious hour

The ornamental part of education, though necessary, is secondary, and I wish to see their minds enlarged by a true knowledge of good and evil, that they may be able to enjoy the one, if it be happily their lot, and submit contentedly to any fortune rather than descend to the other.

How do you feel since you were blockaded? Nothing certainly can be more presumptuous than that decree of Buonaparte's, or more unjust than the seizure of property in neutral countries.—I shall have great pleasure in being sponsor to Sir William Blackett's child; and if it be a son, and he will make him a sailor, I desire my little Sarah will begin to teach him his compass, that he may know how to steer his course in the world, which very few people do

The Ottoman Porte, full of resentment for the invasion of Egypt, had been the last of the European Powers to conclude peace with France, and long persisted in refusing to acknowledge Napoleon's assumption of the imperial dignity: but the ambitious projects of Russia, the manner in which she appropriated to herself the Septinsular Republic, of which the Russian and Turkish forces had jointly taken possession, and the influence which she was creating among the Greeks, to whom she gave patents of protection, induced the Divan to seek again the friendship of their ancient ally; and on the rupture between France and Russia, the French party once more predominated at Constantinople. At the instance of General Sebastiani, the Ambassador of France, the Turks not only refused to renew the treaty of alliance of 1799, between Great Britain and Turkey, but threatened to prohibit Russian ships of war from passing the Bosphorus. The questions also respecting Moldavia and Wallachia were again revived; but the Emperor Alexander, unwilling to

wait the slow progress of the negociation which had been commenced, ordered his troops to occupy Moldavia ; and in December 1806 they defeated the Turkish army at Groda, after a sanguinary battle, and entered Bucharest. Mr. Arbuthnot had, in the autumn of 1806, communicated the state of affairs to Lord Collingwood, who immediately despatched Sir Thomas Louis with a squadron of three sail of the line. He proceeded to Constantinople in the *Canopus*, leaving the *Thunderer* and *Standard* off the Dardanelles ; and the first appearance of this force excited so much apprehension in the Turkish Government, that the English Minister had brought the negociations to a favourable conclusion by the restoration of the Hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia, when the news of the destruction of the Prussian army at Jena arrived, and with it a return of all the former difficulties.

On Mr. Grenville's appointment to the situation of First Lord of the Admiralty, he stated to Lord Collingwood, that " the detaching of
" the squadron under Sir Thomas Louis had in a great measure
" anticipated the wishes of the King's Government, and that the
" promptitude and judgment with which that step had been taken
" could not but be highly satisfactory to His Majesty." It was, however, still considered advisable to increase the English force at Constantinople to at least five ships of the line ; and Mr. Grenville directed that the command of this squadron should be given to Sir John Duckworth, assigning as his reason the probability that Lord Collingwood's attention " would be very much occupied by the force
" of the enemy at Cadiz and Carthagená, since the evident interest
" which they must have in the endeavour to get out some force to
" Spanish America, (then assailed by the expedition under Sir
" H. Popham), made it probable that they would run very consi-
" derable risk rather than abandon that pressing object." Lord

Collingwood, although he considered the positive nomination of a junior officer to this service as unusual, and had been for a time uncertain whether he would not proceed himself in command of this expedition, determined to contribute by all the means in his power to its success, and increased by two additional ships the force appointed by the Admiralty.

“The circumstance,” says Mr. Grenville, in a letter dated March 2, 1807, “of your having augmented the force destined for Constantinople to eight sail, will undoubtedly render that measure more practicable; and if you are still strong enough to watch Cadiz, and to keep as close an eye upon Toulon as I particularly recommended in my last letter, affording at the same time the necessary protection to Sicily, and the projected detachments from thence, much will undoubtedly have been done with the force in the Mediterranean.” Again, on the 11th May, 1807, that Gentleman, on quitting the Admiralty, observes: “I cannot deny myself the pleasure of acknowledging how much I have felt myself indebted to you for the attention and confidence with which you have been so good as to communicate with me while I was at the Admiralty. Had I remained there, I should have thought it my particular duty to have expressed to you the entire satisfaction which I had felt in the orders and arrangements made by you for the service of the Dardanelles, and for that of Alexandria; to both of which you had supplied all that could contribute to their success.”

Lord Collingwood despatched Sir John Duckworth with the following instructions, having been directed in Mr. Grenville's letter “to leave much to the discretion of that able officer.”

January 13, 1807.

Should Mr. Arbuthnot inform you that it is his opinion that hostilities should commence, having previously taken all possible precautions for the safety of that Minister and the persons attached to his mission, and having disposed the squadron under your orders in such stations as may compel compliance, you are to demand the surrender of the Turkish fleet, together with a supply of naval stores from the arsenal sufficient for its complete equipment, which demand you are to accompany with a menace of immediate destruction to the town.

At this crisis, should any negotiation on the subject be proposed by the Turkish Government, as such proposal will probably be to gain time for preparing their resistance, or securing their ships, I would recommend that no negotiation should be continued for more than half an hour; and in the event of an absolute refusal, you are either to cannonade the town, or attack the fleet, wherever it may be.

The force which is appointed for this service is greater than was originally intended, as it was expected that the Russians from Corfu would be ready to co-operate with you: but as its success depends upon the promptitude with which it is executed, I have judged it proper (that no delay may arise from their squadron not joining) to increase your force by two ships. I have, however, written to Admiral Siniavin, to request him to detach four ships, with orders to put themselves under your command; and that you may be possessed of all the force that can be applied to the important service, and your immediate direction, you are hereby authorised to call from the coast of Sicily whatever can be spared, as well as the despatch-vessels at Malta: but as little more naval force is at Sicily than is absolutely necessary for its defence, and for the convoy which may be wanted for

the troops, a strict regard must be had that that island be not left in a weak state of defence

The English Government had determined, in the event of a war with Turkey, to occupy Alexandria, in order to prevent the cession of Egypt to France, which was supposed to be a principal object of the intrigues of General Sebastiani. To this service Lord Collingwood appointed Captain Hallowell, of H. M. S. Tigre, and directed him to prepare a number of transport ships, capable of receiving 7000 troops, with their stores and baggage; so that they might sail within twelve hours after the order for their embarkation. “Your experience on that coast,” he observes, “and extensive knowledge of the country and its inhabitants, will facilitate the critical operations to be carried on there. I have observed to you that great secrecy is necessary in the preparation of the convoy which is intended for the troops, that no clue may be given to discover their destination. This necessity will be obvious to you when I inform you that I have reason to suspect that an improper correspondence is maintained with France by persons in the confidence of the Sicilian Court, and that your measures in preparation will be communicated to the enemy. This correspondence is said to be carried on in small boats to Marseilles, which you are to direct the ships cruising to endeavour to intercept.”

TO CAPTAIN CLAVELL.

Ocean, January 14, 1807.

I am much obliged to you, my dear Clavell, for your letter of the 1st October, and give you many thanks for your good wishes. The Adriatic, I hope, will prove a good station for you,

until something better can come; and whenever I have it in my power to promote your interest in any way, you may trust me that I will not forget your zeal and activity for the public service. I sent you where you are, because I had confidence in your diligence, and thought it probable that much would be done there by so active and intelligent a man as Captain Campbell. Cultivate his esteem: he has a great deal of enterprise, and can step out of the beaten path to do a good thing. You will gain experience, and that will fit you to fill the superior stations to which I hope you will speedily arrive. Cherish your men, and take care of your stores, and then your ship will be serviceable. They are articles very difficult to recruit. There never was an idea of my leaving this station for any other: there seems indeed so much to be done here, that I do not desire it; and I hope my Adriatic squadron will have a great share in it. I am your sincere friend and servant.

TO LADY COLLINGWOOD.

Ocean, off Cadiz, January 22, 1807.

I was expecting to hear of Mr. ——'s death. He is happily released from a life that has been of little comfort to him for some time; nor does the prospect before us promise much for any body: but I was sorry to find that he made so unkind a return for his brother's affection. This is a queer world we live in, or rather that you live in; for I reckon that I have been out of it for some time past, except the mere ceremony of shaking off mortality, which we do with great facility here. The only thing we have in common with you, are our assemblies, concerts, and plays. We have an exceedingly good company of comedians, some dancers that might exhibit at an opera, and probably have done so at Sadler's Wells, and

a band consisting of twelve very fine performers. Every Thursday is a play night, and they act as well as your Newcastle company. A Moorish officer, who was sent to me by Hadgi Abdrahman Ash Ash, the Governor of the province of Tetuan, was carried to the play. The astonishment which this man expressed at the assembly of people, and their order, was itself a comedy. When the music began, he was enchanted; but during the acting, he was so transported with delight, that he could not keep his seat. His admiration of the ladies was quite ridiculous; and he is gone to his Prince fully convinced that we carry players to sea for the entertainment of the sailors: for though he could not find the ladies after the entertainment, he is not convinced that they are not put up in some snug place till the next play night. Thank God! I have no complaints, except sometimes a little cold in my head; for I have not seen a fire these two years.

TO THE RIGHT HON. THOMAS GRENVILLE.

Ocean, January 31, 1807.

Whenever the *Adelphi* brig arrives with the rockets, I will forward them, and the officers skilled in the management of them, to Sir Thomas Louis. As I have never seen these instruments, I can say nothing on their probable effect; but I shall recommend to Sir Thomas Louis that they may be used upon the principle you have stated, and which perfectly corresponds with my own sentiments, that the violence of war should be as little levelled at the civil inhabitants of the enemy's country as circumstances will admit. From the defenceless state in which Sir Thomas Louis represents the Turkish ships to be, I should be sanguine in the expectation, that if demanded at a proper period, and with a stern

countenance in the disposition of the ships, they may be surrendered, rather than that the town should be subject to the devastation with which it would be threatened. To this the instructions particularly point.

On all occasions I have ordered that the strictest regard be paid to the flag of neutral nations, and only directed the Ragusans to be stopped when the French possessed their country, and they could not be considered as neutral. The general feeling which I have endeavoured to impress on the minds of officers has ever been, that it is better to err by lenity in such a case, than to strain a right. The flags of Etruria and of the Pope have always been respected upon the sea. It is upon the shore, at their forts, where the French colours are displayed on the same flagstaff with theirs, that English ships are fired at on their approach.

I am perfectly possessed of the great importance of seizing Alexandria, and have taken every preparatory step I could devise towards the accomplishment of that part of my orders, and have given the most minute instructions on the subject to one of the most zealous and experienced officers in the service; and I am confident Captain Hallowell will spare no pains, that in this business of the transports there may be no delay.

TO LORD RADSTOCK.

Ocean, off Cadiz, February 3, 1807.

The poor King and Queen of Prussia in an apothecary's shop! How reduced! And unable to get their breakfast until the bed is made! What a fall for greatness! This, however, is but the humiliation of the body, subject to chances and changes, as a condition of its being; "subject to the skiey influences that do it hourly

afflict." But if his mind be still upon his throne, he may, even in an apothecary's shop, devise the means of rescuing his distressed kingdom from its present thralldom. Gustavus Vasa planned the emancipation of his country among the iron mines of Dalecarlia. Charles XII. did not feel himself less the Monarch when a stone kitchen was his palace, and cooks and grooms of his council. If the King possesses mind and talents, and by justice, and a strict regard to their happiness, has gained the affections of his people, his case is not hopeless. Wherever Buonaparte reigns, there is the domination of power which is felt or dreaded by all. His rule is repugnant to the interests and welfare of the people; and whenever his tide of greatness be at the full, his ebb will be more rapid than his rise. I cannot help thinking that epoch is not distant. In that event, the world may hope for peace for a few years, until ease and wealth make them licentious and insolent, and then our grand-children may begin the battle again. What I am most anxious about, is the plantation of oak in the country. We shall never cease to be a great people while we have ships, which we cannot have without timber; and that is not planted, because people are unable to play at cards next year with the produce of it. I plant an oak whenever I have a place to put it in, and have some very nice plantations coming on; and not only that, but I have a nursery in my garden, from which I give trees to any gentleman who will plant them, and instruction how to top them at a certain age, to make them spread to knee timber.

Captain Waldegrave is gone upon a little expedition, from which I do not expect his return immediately; but when he comes, I am confident he will have executed his commission well, and hope the route he has taken may be advantageous to him, for he deserves success. I should be sorry that he were out of the way when any

thing serious—I mean any thing great—were to happen here; for although I do not admire boasters, I detest a miserable croaker; and I must say, I feel myself, as Lord Castlereagh observed, “upon ‘a bed of roses,’” and able to contend with any thing that can come to me from any quarter. My ships are complete in every thing; they never go into port more than one at a time: for myself, I have not let go an anchor for fifteen months; and on the first day of the year had not a sick list in the ship—not one man. The doctors are the only people who are in danger of scurvy, if want of employment be a cause of it.

TO THE RIGHT HON. THOMAS GRENVILLE.

Ocean, off Cadiz, February 27, 1807.

Our affairs here are become very interesting. The French Admiral Rossily has orders to sail whenever he can, and his ships are moved down the harbour. You may depend, Sir, on my best exertions for a happy issue. In so extensive a coast, where there are so many objects of great importance to engage the enemy’s attention, with the little information I am able to get here, any judgment of his intention must rest upon a very narrow basis, and much remain of doubt. My first object has been to keep my force complete to meet every exigency wherever it may arise. By Mr. Marsden’s letter I am told their Lordships are very anxious that the Port of Toulon should be blockaded; and could it be done without reducing the force which is absolutely necessary in other quarters, it would be very desirable. I have hitherto considered Sicily, the Adriatic, and Egypt, to be more securely covered and protected from the Navy of the enemy, by a well-appointed squadron on the coast of Sicily, than if that squadron were off Toulon. Seldom

a fortnight will pass without an opportunity offering for them to escape even the most vigilant watch, particularly in the winter. Experience has shewn that they have always done it; and, if I remember rightly, the letter which Admiral Richery wrote to the Directory, he assigns, as the reason for his not having sailed, the doubt which he had of the position of the English fleet; but he adds, “ they have now come in view: I have seen from the hills the “ direction in which they are, and will sail to night.”

I suspect that Egypt is their object; for, however the Russian and Turkish affairs may be ultimately settled, an equal argument will remain to the French for seizing on Alexandria. If the negotiation terminate in peace, they will seize it in hostility to Turkey: if otherwise, they will think it necessary to garrison it, to prevent its occupation by Russia. On this subject I hope every thing very soon will be decided: but the argument I assign to the French appears to be applicable to ourselves, if the Turks could be brought to consent to it; for the French will never lose sight of possessing that country, however the difficulty they would have in preserving a communication with Europe at this time may induce them to delay the attempt.

TO CAPTAIN CLAVELL.

Ocean, March 23, 1807.

I had hoped that your long cruise in the Adriatic would have turned out more profitable to you than it has done; but I trust you will always look upon that as quite a secondary consideration. You have done much good in intercepting the supplies in Dalmatia, and making the people of that country feel the horrors and misery which attend upon French friendship. I hope you have

had nothing to do with the Imperial or Papal vessels, except such as came clearly under His Majesty's Order in Council, being bound from one enemy's port to another. There is nothing that requires more moderation and forbearance than those changes of politics which make neutral States assume for a time the appearance of hostility towards us. They are often compelled to take such a part, however contrary it may be to their policy or wishes; and officers, whose duty it is to act under the orders of their Government, should not be too hasty in determining of themselves what the Government might think proper to do in such new and varying circumstances. We must take care that those nations whose hearts are really with us, and who on the first happy change would be openly on our side, may not, by any intemperate acts of ours, be thrown into the hands of the enemy, and led to regard us as even more violent and offensive than Buonaparte himself. Great tenderness should be shewn to peaceful merchants, if they are not supplying military stores, or violating a blockade, which they know is forbidden.

TO SIR ALEXANDER BALL.

Ocean, March 23, 1807.

In all the enemy's ports they are ready for a push out; and on the 27th ult. they sailed from Rochefort and Brest almost at the same hour; but, finding it impossible to elude the squadron off Brest, went back again. You know their coast signals are not more than half an hour communicating from one port to another. The people at Cadiz are perfectly ready, but still have the appearance of waiting for some reinforcement. My idea of their intention is, that the northern squadrons will come here in force enough to drive us off, and being joined from Cadiz, will

proceed rapidly up the Mediterranean, where they will gather as they go. In this reckoning they may be disappointed. They cannot come more than seventeen. I shall have twelve; and were double their numbers to come, I have no doubt I should stop their career until their pursuers arrive; for I reckon always upon some honest men being at their heels.

We are identifying ourselves at Constantinople with the Russians; an excess of friendship that I do not think they are disposed to shew to us. If they have beaten or effectually resisted the French armies, as it is said they have, Buonaparte will cajole the Emperor Alexander, and make peace with him upon any terms that relate to the Continent; for anarchy and impotence are sufficiently established there for all his purposes. They will then dispose of Turkey as they please, and the Russian squadron may find a welcome reception in Brest before the year have expired. I may be thought to hold the Russian friendship light; indeed I do not, but I believe that if Buonaparte can convince Russia that her interest goes another way than ours, her friendship will soon follow.

Thornborough is here with the poopless Royal Sovereign. What ingenious contrivances they have in England to spoil the ships! but were those great artists to fight a ship themselves, they would be glad of a poop.

TO LADY COLLINGWOOD.

March 29, 1807.

I am almost worn to death with the fatigue of writing, but cannot let a ship go without telling you that I am well, and that although my head aches my heart does not, for I look forward with hope and expectation that the French will be here

before long; then, my love, you may depend upon it your husband will not disgrace you.

All the Turkish business has been managed so much to my satisfaction, that I am feeling very much pleased. Duckworth passed the Dardanelles on the 19th, before the Turks could suspect that we knew what was doing. We have run even before our own Ministers, and Alexandria I expect is at this moment in our possession. I hope every thing will go on well, for there never was a business done with such rapidity. For aught I know, Constantinople may by this time be burnt, and all the sweet little Sultanas on board the English fleet for protection.

TO THE HON. CAPTAIN BLACKWOOD.

Ocean, off Cadiz, April 5, 1807.

I have received Sir J. Duckworth's letter of the 15th February, informing me of the unfortunate fate of the *Ajax*, and most sincerely condole with you on so great a misfortune befalling you, at a moment when our Country would have derived essential benefit from the services of that ship. This event is made more calamitous, if possible, to me by the sensations it has awakened in you at the delay in holding the court martial. I beg, Sir, you will believe that nothing is more repugnant to me than giving uneasiness or cause of remonstrance to any person; and I am sorry that, in your address to the Court of Inquiry, which Sir J. Duckworth ordered, you had occasion to make any complaint. I believe I ought not to have required courts martial to be held here; and that, as you have explained at large to the Board of Inquiry, in your address, the act of parliament requires that there should be as little delay as possible. It was my error, to which I was really led by a desire to establish

officers and men, who had been unfortunate, in ships where there were vacancies for them. It did not occur to me at the time that it was either contravening the law, (which I have ever revered), or likely to be attended with those disadvantages which, I am sorry to find, have given you cause of complaint. I have now sent an order to Sir J. Duckworth, or the officer who shall remain in the command of the squadron, to hold courts martial; and I hope the delay which has occurred will not be attended with any other consequence than that of keeping a mournful subject longer on your mind than I wish it to be.

TO THE RIGHT HON. THOMAS GRENVILLE.

April 27, 1807.

I have transmitted to the Admiralty an extract of Sir J. Duckworth's letter, giving an account of the misfortune which befell the Ajax. This event, in all its circumstances, has given me much concern and uneasiness. The national loss of men and of the ship is calamity enough to excite extreme pain; but that an act of mine should be considered to increase the misfortune of the survivors, adds to it very much. I have explained to the Admiralty the motives which induced me to require the investigation of ships lost to be held here. I considered that it offered an accommodation to the sufferers, and enabled me to bring some sooner into service again; and those to whom I was not empowered to give employment in the squadron were still so far on their way home. I do not mean to contend that it would not have been better to have left the subject of ships lost to have taken their course with other matters of trial, but I was not aware that such restriction could be construed to be a violation of the law. I have too much reverence for the law to

violate it intentionally. I have ever, to the best of my understanding, made it my guide, and the temperate administration of it my study. So far from distorting it, to aggrieve any person, I have constantly sought the means of softening its rigour, when it could be done in justice to the service; and if I have in this instance exceeded the power prescribed by it, I am anxious to establish in your mind, Sir, that my motive was rather lenient than harsh.

The two frigates and sloop of war, which were taken at Alexandria are said to be good ships. Captain Hallowell, in his letter, of which I have sent a copy to the Admiralty, states the good conduct and long service of the First Lieutenant of the Tigre, and recommends him to their Lordships for promotion. Should their Lordships direct them to be taken into the King's service, I beg, Sir, you will allow me also to recommend to you Captain Clavell of the Weazle to be appointed to one of them. He has served with me many years, and I have full experience of his ability as a good officer. He was severely wounded last year, but is now quite well; and if you are pleased to promote this gentleman, I shall esteem it a very great favour.*

Lord Collingwood's desire to mitigate, as much as possible, the miseries of war, was so generally known among the Spaniards, that applications were frequently made to him for passports for the removal of sick and wounded persons from one part of Spain to another, and for various other acts of humanity and courtesy. The following letter from a Spanish lady, respecting a little boy who was on board a

* Lord Collingwood could never procure an Admiralty appointment for this officer; but he was, after some time, enabled to make him a Post Captain by a death vacancy.

captured ship from South America, appears to have given Lord Col-lingwood considerable pleasure, as he was particularly fond of children in general, and as it brought his own family to his mind, although, indeed, they were seldom absent from his thoughts.

Madrid, March 30, 1807.

With sentiments of the warmest gratitude, I address your Lordship, to return you thanks both for your polite letter of the 7th of February, and for the release of my favourite Anselmo, who, as I am informed, has already arrived at Algeziras. The motives which I have for being attached to that boy are of a nature not to be easily forgotten. He was born of one of our slaves on the very day that I myself gave birth to my last child. On that day my husband freed Anselmo's father and mother, together with their babe. It was a day of joy celebrated by us every year, till cruel Fate snatched away my little girl, who was the being to whom I bore the greatest affection in this world, and whose loss I shall never cease to deplore. Anselmo was brought up as the plaything of my darling: she loved him excessively: and I have the weakness to see in that boy a kind of shadow of my lost angel. By this you may conceive, my Lord, the present which you have made me, and how greatly I value the humane sentiments contained in your kind letter. I shall conclude by requesting that you will remember that my husband is Lord Chief Justice of the kingdom of Guatemala, and that in him you will always find a person ready to receive and obey your Lordship's orders.

Praying God to grant you, my Lord, a long and prosperous life, I have the honour to remain,

Your Lordship's humble and most grateful servant.

The expedition to Constantinople had failed, and the English squadron had already retired from the Dardanelles, when the Russian fleet arrived at Tenedos. Sir John Duckworth, who had expected to have been assisted in his meditated attack by a Russian detachment, received several applications from Admiral Siniavin, who desired that five or six sail of English line-of-battle ships and two frigates might be placed under his command, with which he proposed to renew the attempt to burn Constantinople, and destroy the fleet. He stated his own force to consist of eight sail of the line, with 2000 soldiers on board ; but Sir John Duckworth declared, that he considered it as an indispensable duty to reject a proposal which could only tend to the unavoidable sacrifice of both squadrons ; and stated to Lord Collingwood that the whole object of the Russian Commander was to justify himself for desisting from an enterprise, which, as he had confessed, he knew to be impracticable, and which, as Sir J. Duckworth was well convinced, he had never designed to attempt.

TO LORD RADSTOCK.

Ocean, April 13, 1807.

I have had a great deal lately to try my patience. The misfortunes and miscarriages which we have had weigh heavily on my mind. The capture of the ———, with all the despatches, is one of the most foolish things that ever came within my knowledge. Her Commander, I understand, aspires to the silly character of a fire-eater, and could not believe that the gun-vessels would presume to attack him ; and although he was told he could not pass the Straits without the greatest caution, and a gun-brig was sent to escort him, I have heard from Gibraltar, that he was hardly under weigh before he stood in to draw the fire of Cabreta Point. The next they saw of him was

his trying to cut off a gun-boat from Tariffa. He sailed fast enough to leave his escort behind him ; and on the wind coming foul, instead of returning to Gibraltar, anchored on the coast of Barbary, where he lay twenty-four hours. The gun-boats came ; and when he saw them, he did not get out of their way, intending, I suppose, to snap them up, and carry them in triumph to Gibraltar. They took him, and killed several of his men, in five minutes, not leaving him time to throw his despatches overboard, and they all went to Madrid. It is not the fashion for young men to be seamen now : they are more attentive to the outward furniture of the head, than to any thing within it ; and they all dress à la Bonaparte, as if a great hat and tassels constituted a hero. I could laugh at their nonsense, if the public interest were not too much affected by it.

The attempt at Constantinople has not succeeded at all ; and yet, as far as depended on me, we were well prepared. Sir John Duckworth, you will have heard, passed the Dardanelles, and burned the ships which lay above them. The squadron stopped at Prince's Island, the winds, the currents, and every thing being unfavourable for their getting up to the town. The ten days they were there were spent in an attempt, by negociation, to prevent the war, and detach the Turks from the French. On our part, it was faithful : on theirs, it was an expedient to gain time, until their defences were completed, and their fleet secured in the Bosphorus. When they had fully accomplished this, they dropped all further intercourse, and the squadron returned. Constantinople appears to be more difficult to attack than has generally been thought : the strong current from the Black Sea prevents access to it with a light wind ; and then between it and Scutari, both sides of which are well fortified, it is like going into Portsmouth harbour. The French have established their interest

completely; or rather, the Russians did that for them, by their premature attack on the Turkish territory. How they are to profit by it, I am not politician enough to discover; but we have increased the number of our enemies most unfortunately. I say so, because I believe the Turks esteem the English nation as much as they detest the Russ. I am afraid I have tired you with this long history of miseries; but I shall never lose sight of the hope some day to make you amends, by the relation of exploits more gratifying to you.

TO GENERAL SIR HEW DALRYMPLE.

May 23, 1807.

The Admiralty Court at Gibraltar appears to me to be very oddly constituted, and certainly wants regulation. Any body may be judge there; for legal knowledge does not seem to be a necessary qualification. One day, a merchant is trying causes in which perhaps he himself is a party: the next day, a military officer is discussing and explaining knotty points of civil law, and deciding important questions of property, which he is not qualified to do, either by the course of his studies or the habits of his life. I suppose you have heard from General Fox that the Court of Sicily is exceedingly impatient to undertake the conquest of Naples. The General, who is wary, and looks at every circumstance with the eye of an experienced soldier, does not approve it, and will not move the troops: in consequence of which, they have made a request for English transports to carry their Sicilian troops to the Continent, where they are to conquer Naples, and destroy the French without our help.

TO LADY COLLINGWOOD.

Ocean, May 17, 1807.

I am pretty well in health, but exceedingly out of spirits at the failure of our Turkish business. It ought to have succeeded : there was nothing in the state of the enemy to prevent it : but the day is completely gone by ; for the defences which were neglected and nought, are now impregnable. I often think of getting home, if I knew but how : but the time is not far off ; for although I am not sick, my body weakens ; and I know enough of the structure of the human animal to understand, that when the body weakens by age, the mind also loses its activity. If nothing should happen this summer at sea to rouse me and give me spirits, I shall think seriously of my return.

Do not let our girls be made fine ladies ; but give them a knowledge of the world which they have to live in, that they may take care of themselves, when you and I are in heaven. They must do every thing for themselves, and never read novels, but history, travels, essays, and Shakspeare's plays, as often as they please. What they call books for young persons, are nonsense. They should frequently read aloud, and endeavour to preserve the natural tone of voice, as if they were speaking on the subject themselves without a book. Nothing can be more absurd than altering the voice to a disagreeable and monotonous drawl, because what they say is taken from a book. The memory should be strengthened by getting by heart such speeches and noble sentiments from Shakspeare, or Roman History, as deserve to be imprinted on the mind. Give them my blessing, and charge them to be diligent.

TO J. E. BLACKETT, ESQ.

Ocean, June 14, 1807.

It is a great satisfaction to me that my daughters will probably be educated well, and taught to depend upon themselves for their happiness in this world: for if their hearts be good, they have both of them heads wise enough to distinguish between right and wrong. While they have resolution to follow what their hearts dictate, they may be uneasy under the adventitious misfortunes which may happen to them, but never unhappy; for they will still have the consolation of a virtuous mind to resort to. I am most afraid of outward adornment being made a principal study, and the furniture within being rubbish. What they call fashionable accomplishment, is but too often teaching poor misses to look bold and forward, in spite of a natural disposition to gentleness and virtue.

Our miscarriages at Constantinople, and misfortunes at Alexandria, have worn me to a thread. I am so so in health—not ill. My labour is unceasing, and my vexations many; but I cannot help them. My eyes are weak, my body swollen, and my legs shrunk to tapers; but they serve my turn, for I have not much walking. Mr. ——— has written to me about a young gentleman who wishes to enter into the Navy; but at nineteen years of age it is far too late. I will, however, do what I can for him, if he comes; but people are mistaken if they think it is a good thing to be with me. I hardly ever see the face of an officer, except when they dine with me, and am seldom on deck above an hour in the day, when I go in the twilight to breathe the fresh air.

TO LORD RADSTOCK.

Ocean, June 23, 1807.

I have just heard from Alexandria, where they find now that they are abundantly supplied with every thing by the Arabs. What a misfortune that they should have lost so many men in an attack from which no advantage could have been derived, without making the experiment of what was to be done without it! Sir A. Paget is going to try if he can effect any thing with the Turks. If he be a very ingenious man, perhaps something may be done; but it appears to me very doubtful. I am going to do all the good I can: my days and nights are occupied in devising what is best. If I am unsuccessful, I lay my account to be censured, criticised, and sneered at; but if otherwise, and we accomplish every thing, it is only what it is very easy to talk about. How little do the people in general know of war, and of the anxious midnight hours which we experience! while they rest as happily in their nests as a full stomach will allow,

FROM THE BEY OF TUNIS.

Most honoured and most excellent Lord,

It was with the greatest pleasure that I found myself favoured, a few days ago, with a gracious letter from your Excellency, written at sea; and it is also very lately that I had the satisfaction of explaining fully my pacific and friendly sentiments to the illustrious Signior Alexander Ball. As doubtless that most worthy Governor has informed your Excellency of my reply, I will confine myself here to repeating, what I have many times declared and proved to Signior Ball, and to your illustrious predecessors in the chief

command of the British Navy in this sea, my Lords Keith and Nelson, that my chief care and greatest ambition have ever been to maintain the alliance which happily subsists between me and the King your august Sovereign, of whom I am, and ever wish to be, the friend. I think it right to lay before your Excellency's knowledge and judgment the following extracts from the letters which you wrote to me, and from my answer, as they contain all the reasons which guide my conduct towards every nation which is at peace with me, and particularly towards England.

Your Excellency most wisely observed, "that there ought to exist
" a law in our hearts superior to the written stipulations of treaties,
" but founded on the general maxim that acts of kindness should ever
" manifest the existence of a real friendship;" to which I observed, on my part, "that nothing but a reciprocal kindness and equality
" of good offices can maintain friendship between the Governors of
" States."

In fact, looking to the continued proofs which I have not ceased to give to the different authorities of your Excellency's Country of my desire to assist them in all questions and matters of dispute, and looking also to the proofs which I have received in matters admitted to be contrary to twenty of our treaties, what reciprocity, what equality, have I obtained from the admitted justice of His Britannic Majesty as to the claims made to him in my name by my Ambassador Mahomet Koggia, whom I sent to London in 1796, notwithstanding the promise made to him by the Ministers that justice should be done for the losses of my poor subjects? What effect have I derived from all my complaints to the Court of Vice-Admiralty at Malta, where, in truth, they have confiscated ships undoubtedly Tunisian, without the shadow of a just suspicion? Because I am particularly attached

to the English nation, shall I, or shall my subjects, be exposed to loss and injury, which we have never experienced from any State, great or small, which was in friendship with the Regency of Tunis? No. I will not believe it. The justice of the King, and the valuable mediation of your Excellency, assure me of the contrary; and will soon, I hope, put an end to every thing which could render doubtful my friendship to your powerful Sovereign.

Praying from Heaven the most complete and unbounded happiness on your head, I finish by declaring myself, with high respect, most excellent Lord,

Your sincere Friend,

HAMUDA PACHA, BEY OF TUNIS.

Ocean, at Sea, June 30, 1807.

To the most illustrious His Highness the Bey of Tunis, the English Admiral wishes health and peace.

I cannot but regret, most illustrious Pacha, that there should exist any cause of remonstrance from your Highness, or that any event should occur which could raise a doubt in your breast of the equitable spirit in which the rights of your subjects are maintained in our courts. It is the desire of my King that justice should be administered with the utmost purity to all people; for which purpose, he selects from the wisest and most learned of his subjects the Judges who are to administer his law.

I had not before this time any knowledge of the capture of the vessels whose cargoes your Highness states to have been the property of your subjects. Our enemies are artful, and have always been

in the practice of veiling their property under the mask of a neutral country, which is in amity with us. They have two reasons for this: the hope to save their property; or, if they fail in that, to create contention between friends. It is only great experience in those subtleties that can enable the officers of justice to distinguish such false claims from those which are just and right; but when the right appears, a judge would ill conform to that spirit of justice which dwells with our King, if he withheld what was due to his friend. Without professing to know on what particular grounds those cargoes were condemned, I cannot doubt that it had been discovered that the property belonged in fact to the enemy, and that to ensure it from capture, they endeavoured to convey it to its port under the protection of a Tunisian name. When I go to Malta I will not fail to inquire into those circumstances; and, although I have no control over the courts, or the administration of the law, my best offices shall always be exercised in favour of the subjects of your Highness; and in doing them every kindness in my power, I shall only obey the will of my Sovereign.

I beg to assure your Highness of my highest respect, and pray God to preserve you in health many years, that your state may be great and your people happy.

I have the honour to be, most illustrious Pacha, your most sincere friend and humble servant.

TO LORD CASTLEREAGH.

Ocean, at Sea, July 4, 1807.

I have received a letter from the Bey of Tunis, which is in reply to one I had written him on the subject of the claims made by the Consul for the restitution of vessels captured by

his corsairs. I had seconded those claims generally, and not specifically for each individual vessel. My reason was, that I was at a loss for any argument on which they could be well established; and with all the consideration I can give the subject, I cannot find a better now.

Passports had been granted to vessels of countries at war with Tunis, which vessels continued to navigate under their national colours: their crews were the same, and they had their ordinary cargoes. The Tunisians take them; and when the passport is produced, they refer to the treaty which is their maritime code. They cannot understand how that instrument, which was intended to give security to British subjects and property, can extend to our allies, who are at war with them; and finding the vessels not to come within the direct stipulations of the treaty, they consider them enemies, as if such passports had never existed.

Those States of Barbary, whatever might have been their former condition as to their knowledge of treaties, or their regard for them, at present shew no deficiency in either way, and their respect for a treaty can only be maintained by a scrupulous adherence to it on our part. Until I received the Pacha of Tunis' letter, I had no knowledge of the claims which he had made, on his part, of vessels captured so long since as the year 1796, as well as during this war, which your Lordship will find annexed to this letter; and they would probably have rested in his chancery if our claims had not called them forth.

Lord Collingwood received instructions from the Admiralty that his presence at the Dardanelles, to conduct the naval service in that quarter, would be attended with much advantage to His Majesty's

service, and he was accordingly required to proceed to that part of his station, to consult with Sir Arthur Paget, and use his best endeavours for the accomplishment of the object of his mission.

TO LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR JOHN MOORE.

Ocean, at Malta, July 19, 1807.

On my arrival here I had the honour to receive your letter to me, enclosing one to General Fraser, and a copy of it for my information that orders were received from England for the evacuation of Alexandria. I have also received orders of the same purport from the Admiralty; but as it is obvious that they were given at a time when our affairs there bore a most unfavourable aspect, and the perfect and secure establishment in which the army now is could not well be expected, I have great satisfaction that General Fox and yourself have resolved to delay the execution a little. This cannot possibly be attended with any evil, while precipitancy might have the most fatal effects upon the proposed negotiations of Sir Arthur Paget. Every hour since the return of the army to Alexandria their condition has been improving; and we are now the only respectable power in Egypt,—the Pacha fearing us, the Beys courting us, and the Arabs manifesting their attachment most unequivocally. To shrink from it at this moment would be ruinous to the negociation.

TO THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS THE CAPITAN PACHA.

Ocean, off the Dardanelles, August 15, 1807.

I cannot permit the Officer who bears the letter of His Majesty's Ambassador to the Ottoman Minister to depart without offering to your Excellency an expression of my esteem;

for although circumstances have arisen which at present interrupt the friendly intercourse of our nations, they have not lessened those feelings of regard which Englishmen have ever entertained towards the ancient ally of their Sovereign. I beg your Excellency to accept the assurance of my high regard for your illustrious person, and that I am your Excellency's most humble, obedient servant.

FROM THE CAPITAN PACHA.

To his Excellency the most high, honoured, and enlightened Admiral,
our ancient Friend.

After offering you our compliments, and inquiring in a suitable manner about the state of your health, we now most amicably acquaint you, that we have received the letter which you sent us yesterday, and have understood its meaning. The letters which you sent for the Government were immediately forwarded by a Tartar. It is to inform you of this that we write this present letter. If it please God that you receive it, we hope and ask in the spirit of friendship that you will not forget us.

SEID ALI THE ALGERINE, CAPTAIN OF THE SEA.

TO LORD MULGRAVE.

Ocean, off the Dardanelles, August 19, 1807.

I have considered Sir Arthur Paget's mission to establish peace between Turkey and the allied Powers as an object of the first importance, which is indeed increased by the little prospect there is of our giving annoyance to the Turks as their enemy. It was hoped that by a rigorous blockade the capital would

be reduced to such a state of want, as would urge them to a speedy treaty; but, by the best information which I can get here, the supply of Constantinople depends very little on the navigation of the Dardanelles; and, indeed, it would appear that it ought not to do so even in times of profound peace, as the strong N.E. winds which prevail during the summer months, and strong current which runs out, as effectually prevent vessels from entering as any blockade. The supplies are said to go by caravans to Galipoli, or other shipping places on the Sea of Marmora, and it is the Greek islanders who suffer most from the interruption of trade. Those islands drew most of their supplies of corn from the Continent; so that there appears little reason to expect that an insurrection in the Capital from scarcity will urge them to treat; and there is not the smallest attempt made by vessels of any kind to enter the Straits. The Turks in their correspondence with us profess a friendly disposition, and a desire to restore the peace and good understanding which have been interrupted; but I am told their communications with the Russian Minister are not in the same tone of conciliation, which creates a suspicion with me that, however desirous they may be to terminate their difference with us, they will never even enter on the necessary discussion of it in concert with the Russians.

The Greeks of the Islands, whose trade was for the most part foreign, carrying wax and corn to Spain and Portugal, which they received either from the Continent, or (as those of Ipsera) from the large islands of Scio and Miteline, which, from their nearness to the Continent, may be reckoned as a part of it, have laid up their ships; and none are to be seen at sea, except a few to whom the Russians have given commissions, and whose employment is to commit depredation upon all who cannot resist them.

The Turkish fleet, which on my arrival here was lying near the outer castles of the Dardanelles, where they had been since the action with the Russian squadron, have since taken every opportunity to move farther up, by warping when it was calm, and sailing when they had a favourable wind for an hour or so. They have heard at Constantinople, that it is intended that our army should abandon Egypt, and probably delay the acceptance of the Ambassador's proposals until they learn from thence that the troops are gone. This information they must have received before our arrival, and before it could be known at Alexandria. The coming up of Sir John Duckworth was current at Constantinople before Sir Thomas Louis knew it; and hence your Lordship will perceive how little is to be depended on from any measure of secrecy. The French engineers arrived at Constantinople the same day that squadron did, and were probably sent to prepare for it.

The accounts I have received from Captain Hallowell state the improved condition of our affairs. He considers the security of the garrison at Alexandria as perfect, their supplies abundant, every article of provisions cheap; and notwithstanding the doubts which were entertained of the capricious friendship of the Arabs, that port is become the mart of a considerable trade. The divisions amongst the Beys, the dissatisfaction of the Albanians in the Turkish army, and the consequently diminished power of Ali Pacha, give a high importance to our forces at Alexandria. Many of the Beys have avowedly identified their cause with ours. I enclose to your Lordship the copies of three letters from them, which shew the dependance and expectation they have from us. Their circumstances seem to require that some security should be stipulated for them in any treaty that should be made here, because, if left to their fate, they will certainly

ever after give themselves up to the direction of France. When the Turks landed at Tenedos, they put to death all the Greek inhabitants who had not embarked in the Russian fleet, or gone into the castle with the Russian garrison. When they retired from the island, the remaining Greeks quitted it, knowing what their fate would be when the Russians should abandon it. The place being thus left desolate, Admiral Siniavin ordered the fort to be blown up, the town burnt, and every thing to be destroyed. That populous and fertile island is now a waste.

I shall be glad to be able to inform your Lordship that a negotiation is begun with this Court, because they appear to feel no effect of the war beyond the suspension of their commerce, which perhaps is more detrimental to us than to them.

TO LADY COLLINGWOOD.

Ocean, off the Dardanelles, August 20, 1807.

My business here is of the most important nature, and I am exerting all my powers to derive good from it. My mind is upon the full stretch ; for my body, I do not know much about it, more than that it is very feeble. We precipitated ourselves into this war without due consideration. We had no quarrel with the Turks, and a temperate conduct would have carried all our points. This is now seen, when it is too late ; and I am afraid the measures we are taking to restore peace are not calculated to accomplish it. The Turks are kind, and take every opportunity of expressing their respect and friendship for the English nation ; but while we make common cause with the Russians, their inveterate enemies, I am afraid they will not listen either to them or us.

On the 9th I arrived at Tenedos, where I found the Russians

employed in desolating the country. The island was inhabited by Greeks; and in an attempt which the Turks made to retake it from the Russians, they had put all the Greeks to death, who, desiring to be neutral, had not gone into the castle. On the Turks being repulsed, and quitting the island, the remaining Greeks, who had been in the castle and the ships, abandoned their country, leaving their houses, their estates, vineyards laden with the fruits of their labour, and corn-fields with the abundant harvest ready for the sickle, to seek a habitation amongst strangers, as rich as they were on the day of their birth, and having nothing to take with them but their miseries. That the Turks may not at any future period profit by what they left, the Russians have burnt every thing, making a complete ruin.

Having made my arrangement with the Russian Admiral, the two squadrons sailed; but our friends were not in sight when on the 13th we stood close in with the castles of the Dardanelles. It was not possible for us to get in, though the Turks thought we meant to attempt it. When we were very near, they put out flags of truce from all quarters, and a Capagi Bashi, (a sort of Lord Chamberlain of the Seraglio), came off to me with letters to the Ambassador of a pacific import; and had we only ourselves to treat for, I believe there would be few impediments, but as it is, I am not sanguine. I gave him coffee, sherbet, and smoked a pipe with him. The day after, the answer was sent to them by the Dragoman. The ship that carried it anchored in the port, and the Captain was invited to dine with the Capitan Pacha, who is the Lord High Admiral. There were only five at table; the Capitan Pacha, the Pacha of the Dardanelles, my friend the Capagi Bashi, with beards down to their girdles, Captain Henry, and the Dragoman. There were neither plates nor knives and forks, but each had a tortoise-shell spoon. In the middle of the table

was a rich embroidered cushion, on which was a large gold salver, and every dish, to the number of about forty, was brought in singly, and placed upon the salver, when the company helped themselves with their fingers, or if it was fricassée, with their spoon. One of the dishes was a roasted lamb, stuffed with a pudding of rice : the Capitan Pacha took it by the limbs, and tore it to pieces to help his guests ; so that you see the art of carving has not arrived at any great perfection in Turkey. The coffee cups were of beautiful china, which, instead of saucers, were inserted in gold stands like egg-cups, set round with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds. They drank only water, and were waited on by the Vice and Rear Admirals, and some of the Captains of the fleet. They spoke lightly of the Russians when they mentioned them at all, and seemed to consider themselves as quite a match for them, if the English were out of the way. When our gentlemen left them, the Pacha of the Dardanelles presented them each with a shawl, which is considered as a token of friendship. I think a specimen of manners so unlike those of Europeans will amuse you. I live here poorly enough, getting nothing but bad sheep and a few chickens ; but that does not offend me.—I have written to Mrs. ———, to charge her not to make our girls fine ladies, which are as troublesome animals as any in the creation, but to give them knowledge and industry, and teach them how to take care of themselves when there is none left in this world to take care of them ; for I think, my dear, you and I cannot last much longer. How glad I should be, could I receive a letter from you, to hear how all my friends are ! for I think the more distant they are, the more dear they become to me. We never estimate the true value of any thing until we feel the want of it, and I am sure I have had time enough to estimate the value of my friends. The more I see of the world, the less I like

it. You may depend on it that old Scott is a much happier man than if he had been born a statesman, and has done more good in his day than most of them. Robes and furred gowns veil passions, vanities, and sordid interests, that Scott never knew.

I am much afraid we shall never do any good in concert with the Russians; they hate the Turks, and the Turks detest them, which neither party is at any trouble to conceal. The Turks like us, and I am afraid the Russians are a little jealous of us. Conceive, then, how difficult a part I have to act amongst them; and what mortifies me is, that I see little hope of good from all my cares. To give you an idea of the Turkish style of letters to the Russians, the Capitan Pacha begins one to the Admiral Siniavin, by telling him, "After proper inquiries for your health, we must observe to you, in a friendly way, what yourself must know, that to lie is forbidden by all religions. Your friend should not receive a falsehood from you, nor can he be a friend who would offer one." In a sort of battle they have had, the Turks accused the Russians of something contrary to the received law of nations, which the Russian denied to be the case; and the Turk tells him, that his religion forbids him to lie. I am much disappointed in the appearance of these Greek islands; they are, for the most part, thinly inhabited, and but a small portion of the land is cultivated. It always blows strong, and there is sunshine in abundance. Cattle are not plentiful, but money is still more scarce; and we buy a bullock for less than 3*l.* when they are to be got, and exchange the hide for three sheep. A sheep, when fat, weighs about 20*lb.* Of all climates and countries under the sun to live in comfort, there is none like England.

August 30.—The Russians have made a separate peace with France, who is negotiating their affairs with the Porte. An armistice

is proposed by them here, and they have withdrawn themselves from co-operation with us. Admiral Siniavin gave me official notice of this in a civil letter, and separated his squadron from ours. I see no prospect of peace with the Turks. We turned them over to the French, and they have skill enough to keep them. I have seen enough now to be well convinced they cannot and will not treat with us but under the direction of Buonaparte. The Ambassador has been paying friendly visits to the Pachas, who were extremely civil to him, and accepted the valuable presents from him with as much cordiality as if we really were on our way to friendship ; but I have not an idea of such a thing.

TO LORD MULGRAVE.

Ocean, off the Dardanelles, August 28, 1808.

I have to-day received the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 16th June, enjoining me to promote, by every possible means, the good understanding and harmony with the Russian squadron and our allies at Corfu. I assure your Lordship it has always been an object of my first consideration, and I have given the most positive orders that all our communications with them should bear the stamp of cordiality and kindness. Nothing can be more satisfactory than the friendship that has existed here, and which the Russian Officers seem as desirous to cultivate as we can be. I removed, on my arrival here, all the stiffness which strangers feel in making an acquaintance, by going to Admiral Siniavin, and entering upon the subject of our affairs with the freedom and openness with which a friend would be consulted ; and I endeavoured to give to the proposals which I had to make to him the appearance of their being the result of his advice.

The squadron has remained at this anchorage for the purpose of convenience and communication with the Turkish Government, in which, I am sorry to say, I observe a tardiness in coming to any decision on the proposed negociation, which has raised in my mind a suspicion that, in what relates to it, they will be much influenced by the councils of the French. With much fair language, and professing a desire of peace, they still hold off, and do not advance to the principal point; viz. that of receiving the Embassador, and appointing a person to treat with him. Their ships continue to move farther up the Hellespont, with every opportunity when they can warp: the Capitan Pacha is now near the Dardanelles' upper castle.

In the event of not succeeding in establishing peace, I do not conceive, my Lord, that a squadron of large ships can be of the smallest utility whatever here. To keep the sea is not possible among the islands, and to find a port where they can be secure is not easy. Almost every island has a port for polaccas and small vessels, which navigate here in summer; but there are very few places where ships can be in safety in the winter. The port at Skiro is a fine inlet of the sea, but has very deep water, from thirty-five to above fifty fathom, and the ground foul and uncertain. Paros has a small and good port; but with the prevailing north wind it is impossible to get out of it. I have sent the Sea-Horse to examine other places, but have found only Paros that can give a safe anchorage. My opinion is, that when the season is so advanced as to make it improbable that their fleet will move, a cruiser being stationed between Cape Matapan and the west end of Candia, and another between Rhodes and the east end of Candia, would more effectually blockade the ports in the Archipelago than any number of ships which might be amongst the islands, where they could not keep the sea. Last winter two vessels

were lost, Nautilus and Moucheron; for in thick weather it is not a sea navigable for more than the passage through it.

Those reasons I hope your Lordship will think sufficient for adopting the stations which I have proposed. Whatever produce the Turks have in the country, on either side the Dardanelles, appears to be conveyed to the capital without entering this passage by sea: whatever may come from Egypt, or the traders of foreign nations, will be more effectually stopped by those stations than by any other.

TO THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS ALI, CAPITAN PACHA.

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS PACHA,

It is now near a month since I arrived in these seas with a squadron of His Britannic Majesty's ships. Your Excellency knows that it is the duty of British fleets to present themselves to the enemies of their Country: but I had entertained the hope, that God would have inspired the Sultan of the Turks with the same holy desire, which has ever animated the breast of my King, that peace may be established among all nations; and that in the Turkish fleet I should have found not enemies, but that friendship renewed, which has most unhappily been suspended for a time by the convulsions that have shaken the Governments of Europe.

His Majesty, with this impression of friendship for the Sublime Porte, had sent his Ambassador to propose a renewal of that harmony and friendly intercourse that he wished to maintain with a nation, whose interests and preservation from the intrigues of ambition have ever been a subject of his solicitude, and which a few years since called forth the exercise of his arms. The Sublime Porte, professing a desire that this friendship which we offer should

be established, have not yet proceeded one step towards it; and this irresolution calls on me, most illustrious Pacha, to propose to the Sublime Porte the following questions, which, as the Turkish Ministers are already fully informed on the subject, I expect they will reply to promptly, and with that ingenuousness and truth with which they are proposed.

Will the Sublime Porte accept the friendship offered by England, with a renewal of all the relations of peace and amity, the particular terms of which may be settled by the Plenipotentiaries?

Or do they reject the proposal, and, influenced by malign councils, determine on a state of war?

If the Sublime Porte accepts the proposal to establish friendship, in what place shall His Majesty's Ambassador meet the Plenipotentiary whom the Sultan may appoint to conclude the treaty which is necessary to declare the renewal of former engagements, and seal the bond of friendship between our nation?

I have said before, most illustrious Pacha, that the subject is not new to the Ministers of the Porte. They have already, doubtless, determined in their minds the conduct to be pursued; and I expect in their reply that ingenuousness and truth with which God inspires the hearts of honest men, and that they give it immediately. If, in a short period, I have not an answer, I shall conclude that they intend to take such a part, or are under such influence, as they cannot without regret reveal. I cannot omit this opportunity of assuring your Excellency of my high respect for your person, that I am, most illustrious Pacha, your most humble servant, and that I desire to be your friend.

FROM THE CAPITAN PACHA.

To our Friend, Admiral Lord Collingwood.

The friendly letter which you have done me the favour to write to me has been received, and I have perfectly understood its contents. The letters which had been previously transmitted to us were, by me in conjunction with Ismail Pacha, forwarded to our Ministers at Constantinople, accompanied by our strongest recommendations. No answer has yet been received. You are of course aware, that in business relating to Governments, eight or ten days are requisite before it can pass through the regular forms; but be assured, that the moment an answer is received, it shall be communicated to you. Be satisfied that I love only the real truth, and of this I take God to witness. You are, doubtless, anxious for an answer, and it is your duty to your Government to be so; but in this anxiety of yours Ismail Pacha shares with me. Be then thoroughly persuaded that there will be no delay on our part in the immediate communication of the expected answer. You are perfectly aware of Government formalities, and we must all conform to what is proper. I hope to God that every thing will succeed for the advantage of both nations; and in order to convince you of what I have said, this has been written.

TO J. E. BLACKETT, ESQ.

Ocean, off the Dardanelles, September 5, 1807.

Sarah ought not to wish to hear from me often, for I have nothing to recount to her but the history of my miseries. I think I never was in a situation of more anxiety, one more hopeless

of any good, or more vexatious in all its circumstances. Poison is sometimes sweet, but this is poison with all its bitterness. An Ambassador came here to negotiate a peace, and endeavour to renew a friendship which had too hastily been given up. In all the attempts to open a negotiation, they have professed a friendship for the English, but without approaching the point of negotiation one jot. We appear languid about it, and without having accomplished any thing, seem to be content, and my patience is worn out with the nothingness of our progress. The fleet is wanted every where, and the ships with me are, in fact, doing nothing. The indignity that we seem to be suffering has long been the cause of much uneasiness to me; but when I received the accounts of the new possessions which the French are to have in the Adriatic, the disposal of Sicily, and many other arrangements, all of which require the fleet,—I lost all patience, and wrote a letter to the Capitan Pacha, proposing certain questions to him, which I hope will draw from the Porte a declaration of what they have resolved to do. The Ambassador did not like this: I suppose he thought it was interfering with his treaty, which it was not. I know too well the absolute necessity of each branch of His Majesty's service confining itself to its own proper and peculiar province, ever to intermeddle with the duties of another; but it was an effort on my part, as the Commander here, to have him accepted as Plenipotentiary, or to make them declare that they would not receive him. I could no longer bear patiently to see the important service of our Country totally at a stand, and not attempt to set it in motion. I scarce know how this will be received in England, neither do I care. I considered it well, and shall always be satisfied with it in my own mind; and if any displeasure be expressed on the occasion, I shall desire to come home. God knows

how truly I have served, how unremittingly I have studied my Country's interest, and how I have exerted myself to promote it. What judgment I have I will use, or have nothing to do with it; and whenever that day comes when I can retire from the labours of public service, it will be a happy one indeed. In bodily strength I am worn out; and whoever enters so entirely into the state of our Country as I do, and have done, cannot be much otherwise. My astonishment is to find that in England this does not seem to enter into the minds of people, or at least not to interrupt their gaieties. England, on the verge of ruin, requires the care of all; but when that all is divided and contending for power, then it is that the foundation shakes. Alas! poor England! Heaven knows but we may yet live to mourn over its grave. I pray God to bless you all. Tell Sarah that I hope she will have a comfortable house for me when I come home. The farther it is from the sea shore, the less we shall be annoyed.

Alexandria, which had been captured under one administration, was immediately abandoned by that which succeeded it, although the apprehension of a scarcity of provisions, which had led to the disastrous attack on Rosette, had been dispelled. Captain Hallowell, in whom Lord Collingwood reposed the most implicit confidence, represented in the strongest terms the despair of the inhabitants of Alexandria at the prospect of being left without defence to the fury of the Albanians, and urged the necessity of making an arrangement for retaining the town till a Turkish garrison could be sent from Constantinople. "On this station," observes that gallant Officer, in a letter which Lord Collingwood read with great satisfaction, because it was written in a spirit that corresponded with his own, "it is

“ impossible for me to derive any advantage, except that of serving
“ my Country and meeting your approbation ; but I would willingly
“ remain here the whole war, without any chance of distinction or
“ emolument, rather than suffer the English name and character to
“ be disgraced by deserting those poor wretches who have thrown
“ themselves on our protection.”

TO THE HON. W. W. POLE.

Ocean off Imbro, September 5, 1807.

I have received a letter with its enclosures, from Captain Hallowell, at Alexandria, representing the extreme distress of the inhabitants of that town, at the preparation which they had observed to be making for the departure of the British troops. They know how little mercy they have to expect from the Albanians, who are alike the dread of Turks and Egyptians, and consider the departure of the British forces as determining their fate. I forward copies of the letter and its enclosure, which will fully inform their Lordships of the unhappy state of those poor people : in addition to which, Captain Fellowes acquaints me that they were to be seen in crowds upon their knees in the streets imploring protection. Sir A. Paget has requested the Turkish Government to send an officer of rank to command in Alexandria, whose authority might check the ferocity of the Albanians ; but, considering the character of that people, I doubt whether this expedient would be of much avail.

Instruction given by Lord COLLINGWOOD to all the Flag Officers and Captains.

Ocean, September 19, 1807.

In the event of an action with the enemy, in which it shall happen that any of their ships shall be in extreme distress by taking fire or otherwise, and the brigs, tenders, or boats which are attached to their fleet, shall be employed in saving the lives of the crews of such distressed ship, they shall not be fired on, or interrupted in such duty. But as long as battle shall continue, His Majesty's ships are not to give up the pursuit of such as have not surrendered, to attend to any other occasion, except it be to give their aid to His Majesty's ships which may want it.

TO SIR ALEXANDER BALL.

Ocean, off Matapan, September 22, 1807.

Our affairs here are become, by the Russian peace, so complicated and so critical, that they require the utmost circumspection and activity. I left Tenedos the 16th. Admiral Martin and the Kent stay there until the Ambassador is satisfied that he can do nothing. I thought it necessary to send down a well appointed ship to aid Hallowell, who has had a most laborious time since he went there. The Turks have continued to profess for us the greatest esteem, and desire of being our friends; but at the same time, it is very obvious that they have submitted themselves entirely to the direction of the Government of France, and in all their intercourse with us have avoided any engagement to treat.

The Russians, I understand, have agreed to give their ships in the Mediterranean to France, and they will be employed immediately in

the transport of troops. I hope this will not be undertaken under the Russian flag, or by the Russian people, because that would be identifying themselves with the enemy. In the uncertainty of affairs, and of what is about to be done, I think I cannot do better than to get as near the enemy as possible, and am now with four good ships making the best of my way towards Corfu, where I shall expect to meet some of our cruisers to give me information. The moment I heard the French were to have Corfu and the ships, I sent orders to Campbell to drop down the Adriatic, doing what good he could in his way, and to take a station between Corfu and Cape St. Mary. I think I shall be able to ruin them before they reach Sicily, without bringing them to a general action.

O, my dear Ball, how this Turkish war has embarrassed all our affairs, without a possibility of its having one good consequence from the beginning! It was undertaken in defence of Russian injustice; and behold how we are rewarded for it. The blockade of the Dardanelles appears to me to have been represented to our Ministers of much more importance than it really is. Since the month of April no vessel of any kind is known to have gone into that channel, and yet there does not appear to be the least want of any kind at the capital. The constant N.E. winds during the summer months are a complete bar to regular trade.

TO LORD MULGRAVE.

Ocean, off Syracuse, October 16, 1807.

I received the honour of your Lordship's letter, informing me of the intelligence which His Majesty's Government had received of the nature of certain stipulations in the treaty of

Tilsit, which were hostile to the interest of our country, and threatening to the Ottomans.

Since the conclusion of that treaty, where so much ground was left for conjecture as to what part the Russians were to take, I have paid a strict regard to their movements, with as little appearance of attending to them as possible. The language they held in their ships was, that they were destined to the Baltic, and Admiral Siniavin, with a great part of his fleet, sailed down the Mediterranean on the 6th instant. Admiral Greig, with about eight ships, I believe, is still in the Adriatic; but of these, five or six are so bad as to be unfit to go into the ocean at this season. Should the Turkish Government accede to the proposals of the Ambassador, and conclude a treaty of peace, I shall be ready to give every protection to their country that is in my power; but the Turks, I believe, feel themselves in a predicament which makes them slow to determine. Anxious for a peace with England, they still fear to avow it; because a treaty with us would bring on them the vengeance of France, and our fleet can give them no aid against the armies of the enemy. To this consideration alone I attribute the tardiness with which the negociation with Sir Arthur Paget got forward. Our correspondence with the Russian Officers, to the last hour of their being with us, was perfectly friendly: they lamented the misfortune that had befallen their Country with an air of having nothing to conceal; and when they left us, I believe that they had no suspicion of any hostile intention of their Court towards us.

TO VICE-ADMIRAL THORNBOROUGH.

Ocean, off Syracuse, October 18, 1807.

The practice of detaching boats on a distant service out of the protection of the ship, is a cruel thing to gallant

young officers, who do not like to return, even when their judgment dictates to them that they ought. They are enterprises highly injurious to the public service, because they disable the ship from performing her real duty; and they are discouraging to the men, because they shew, even to those of the least observation, that they are schemes not directed by judgment. The Hydra performed lately a very gallant thing against a great force. Three privateers, well armed, and a battery of four 24-pounders, were taken with the loss of one man; but the ship and boats acted in concert, and in every part the skill and conduct of Captain Mundy was as conspicuous as the gallantry of his officers and men.

In the returns of the —, I observe a supernumerary received from an American frigate. I hope he was given up in an amicable way, because the present situation of our affairs demands that we should not enter into discussions with any neutral Power, which, without being of great importance in themselves, would be likely to create animosities. The affair in America I consider as exceedingly improvident and unfortunate, as in the issue it may involve us in a contest which it would be wisdom to avoid. When English seamen can be recovered in a quiet way, it is well; but when demanded as a national right, which must be enforced, we should be prepared to do reciprocal justice. In the return I have from only a part of the ships, there are 217 Americans. Would it be judicious to expose ourselves to a call for them? I see, in the journal of the —, that when cruising they spoke an American from Leghorn, bound to Salem, and the only remark about her is, that they pressed a man out of her. What should we say if the Russians were to man themselves out of English ships?

FROM THE QUEEN OF NAPLES.

Le 23 Octobre, 1807.

La confiance que j'ai dans votre digne personne me fait vous envoyer copie exacte de deux relations reçues ce matin, desquelles probablement vous serez déjà informé. Selon les démarches de l'escadre Russe, il paroît qu'elle a voulu s'assurer si Siracuse Auguste étoit accessible, et l'ayant vu défendue, elle a passé Messine pour aller à sa destination, que ne peut que nous être très suspecte, après la paix, où, à l'article 14, la Russie reconnoît Joseph comme Roi de Naples, et par la lettre de Joseph, qui est dans nos mains, où il parle à Napoleon des troupes Françoises, qu'à la paix il croit nécessaire pour garder la Sicile. Preuve pleine que même cet asile on a accordé à Joseph, encore avant de l'avoir conquis. Voilà donc l'escadre Russe, naviguant à pleines voiles, soit pour Naples, ou pour s'unir aux 12,000 hommes, unis aux 16,000 autres, dont les premiers sont prêts à Gênes et les autres à Toulon, pour fondre probablement sur nous. Tout cela, avec le départ dans ce moment des troupes Angloises, est bien triste ; mais je fie en Dieu, protecteur du juste. Au moins, si nous serons entièrement perdus, le serons nous avec honneur, sans la moindre lâcheté ni foiblesse ; et cela nous fera souffrir nos malheurs et ceux de notre famille. Je compte toujours sur votre grande généreuse nation ; et croyez moi, pour la vie, avec la plus sincère estime,

Votre bien affectionnée,

CHARLOTTE.

TO J. E. BLACKETT, ESQ.

Ocean, off the Coast of Sicily, October 24, 1807.

The tour which you made on your return must have been very pleasing, and would have done me infinite good, could I have been of the party. I am sure that I want something like amusement to relax my mind, which is like a bow for ever bent. I fear the tone of some of my letters may have made you think that it is bent somewhat awry. I cannot help it. My natural temper is anxious, and the critical affairs I have on hand wear me; nor am I less anxious for those whom I have left at home.

I was ordered to proceed from Cadiz to the Dardanelles, where the Russian fleet was, not so much to carry on an active war against the Turks, as to conciliate them, and give the Embassadors of Russia and England an opportunity of making a peace which ought never to have been broken. I found they had made no progress, but soon managed to introduce a friendly correspondence on our part. To the Russians they would have little to say, as they always bear them a most inveterate hatred. To us it was the very reverse: all their correspondence bore the marks of kindness; but we had unadvisedly thrown them into the hands of France, and it was not possible to extricate them. They do not hesitate to say now, that the fear of France alone prevents their making peace with us; and when or how that fear is to cease, I do not know. I have no doubt on my mind, that at this moment the line of division is drawn through Turkey, to mark what is to be in future French, and what Russian. By the good management of our officers in Egypt, the peace of that country was pretty well restored before we left it, the prisoners all released, and terms made for the inhabitants who remained. The Pacha made

presents to the officers; but those intended for my friend Captain Hallowell were refused, because he felt the impropriety of receiving any token of friendship from an enemy, against whom he would act an hour after the truce was withdrawn. I followed the Russians down; and being doubtful of the part they were to take, thought it necessary to keep near them: however, they have all sailed, and they said were destined for the Baltic. Admiral Siniavin and I were great friends: he seemed to like me, and I had a kind of regard for him, because he professed to hate the French. All the Turks liked me because I talked to them as if we were old friends, and smoked with them. Nothing but the fear of the French could have prevented our peace with them. I have got my friend, Sir Alexander Ball, who is Governor of Malta, to hoist his flag there, and conduct the business of the port: at sea, I shall do as well as I can. This island of Sicily is in a deplorable state of government. I am afraid its inhabitants will do little towards its preservation: they are poor, oppressed, and wretched, and cannot be worse off. They once hoped that the English would rescue them from their miseries; but now look on us as the supporters of their Governors, and we are become obnoxious to them.

I hope Sarah is settled comfortably at Chirton, and that her house is warm. I shall be happy when I am there, and never before; for this life, though it is a necessary one, is totally devoid of comfort. It is the ladder, the precarious and unsteady ladder, by which I have mounted to rank and fortune, but happiness lies quite another way.

I am going now in search of the French. If I have the good fortune to find them, and Heaven blesses my endeavours, I shall immediately after desire to go to England, and in my family's affection receive the reward I wish for.

TO VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH.

Ocean, at Syracuse, December 9, 1807.

I have the honour to enclose to your Lordship a despatch from the Reis Effendi, addressed to Sir Arthur Paget. He sent it to the Vizier Ali Pacha of Joannina to be forwarded, who found means to put it on board one of His Majesty's ships cruising on the coast of Albania; and as the letter of the Pacha which accompanied it was in the language of conciliation and friendship, I conclude the Reis Effendi's letter may be a proposal for the renewal of peace with the Porte, and lose no time in forwarding it to your Lordship. As a considerable time must now elapse before His Majesty's Ministers can reply to this subject, I shall inform the Vizier of that circumstance, and endeavour as much as I can to confirm that disposition which seems to be indicated in his letter. In the conference which Captain Leake had with the Pacha, he did not conceal his apprehensions at the French being put in possession of the Ionian Islands, and his desire to have St. Maura reduced for him; but in the present state of the land forces here any enterprise which would take them from the defence of Sicily seems to be out of question.

A few days since I returned from a short cruise off Toulon, where the French squadron of five ships of the line made the usual appearance of being perfectly ready for sea. In all the ports, both French and Spanish, they constantly make this shew; but as for two years past they have not moved to any great distance, it is not from this appearance that their intention can be discovered. I consider it as rather practised to keep us constantly at sea, wearing out our ships, while every exertion is made to increase the number of theirs.

Your Lordship will observe, that notwithstanding the most

friendly footing on which the Consul is with the Government of Tripoli, while the Pacha is complying with all his requests, he still is desirous that a line-of-battle ship should appear there. It is too frequently the case, that instead of maintaining the esteem of those people by an equitable and temperate conduct towards them, the idea of coercion, and of acting upon them by fear, is so predominant, that it presents itself when there is really no occasion which calls for it.

TO ALI PACHA OF JOANNINA.

H. B. M. S. Ocean, at Sicily, December 9, 1807.

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS PACHA,

I have received the two letters brought by your messenger, but as it is now more than two months since the Ambassador who had made proposals to the Porte returned to England, I shall take the earliest opportunity of transmitting those letters to the British Ministers in England, and I shall lose no time in forwarding any communication which your Highness may have to make, either on the part of the Sublime Porte or yourself.

I am glad of this opportunity of stating to your Highness the great satisfaction I have had in the friendly attachment to our Sovereign and the British nation, which is expressed in your letter; and although the arts and intrigues of our enemy, whose unbounded ambition has made him the enemy of all mankind, have interrupted that amicable intercourse which England ever wished to maintain with her ancient ally, the Porte and her dependencies, I hope the time is not distant when all the relations of friendship will be restored. To a prince of your penetration and knowledge of the political intrigues by which France has ever sought to aggrandize

herself, I need not point out the dangers which threaten the Ottoman empire by the late treaty concluded between France and Russia, and how imperiously all the energies of your Government are required to repel, on every occasion, so dangerous a foe, and to resist, in every step of its operation, a plan which has the total overthrow of Turkey and its dependencies for its object. Albania, where your Highness governs, is a powerful country; your people, loyal and warlike, and under the direction of a prince skilful and valorous, would, perhaps, be amongst the last assailed; but you will doubtless look forward to your condition when you may be surrounded by a not less powerful people, who, practising upon the minds of men, more by their arts than by their arms, have subdued so many nations. I have given strict injunctions to the officers who are blockading Corfu and the Islands, to prevent as much as possible all intercourse by the French with that island; and while it is so blockaded, I think your Albanians would possess themselves of it in a few days. The British army is at present so engaged, that troops cannot be sent; but if your Highness expects success, you must find pretexts for stopping the supply of provisions from your country, and for sending off those Frenchmen who surround and watch your motions. At present, while the British squadron is cutting them off from all supplies by the way of Italy, your Country, which is much more interested in their extirpation from Corfu, is affording them their only means of subsistence. I take this opportunity of expressing to your Highness my high respect for your illustrious person, and my desire that happier times will soon allow me to style myself your Highness's friend.

TO THE EARL OF MULGRAVE.

Ocean, Syracuse, December 11, 1807

When I was on my way to the station off Toulon, I received intelligence that the Russian squadron under Admirals Siniavin and Greig had passed the Straits of Gibraltar, and finding the French vessels lying in the same state in which they have long been, I returned to this port to refit and caulk the ships, which have been much strained by the hard gales.

Off Toulon I found that two frigates and a corvette had escaped, and their route was not known until I came here, and found they were at Corfu. There was no want of vigilance in the vessel which was watching the port. It is what may frequently happen at Toulon. As the direction in which the blockading ships are can be seen from the hills, they can always be avoided.

With respect to this island I have nothing to communicate to your Lordship. I have already mentioned my opinion, that whenever it is assailed, its defence will entirely depend on the British forces. In a country which might be abundant, nothing can exceed the misery and poverty of its populace. The body of the people have nothing to defend, and little assistance in repelling an enemy can be expected from them. I now send the *Tigre* to England, in obedience to their Lordships' orders, and shall miss Captain Hallowell very much, for he is one of the most zealous and skilful officers in His Majesty's service. Of the frigates I wrote to you before; in addition to those I then mentioned, the *Endymion* is complaining very much, owing to her enormous masts, which are more than can be secured. On this subject I must observe to your Lordship, that the wall-sided ships, and those heavy masted, are a continual burden upon

the docks and arsenals; while the ships of the old establishment, as the *Terrible*, *Saturn*, *Zealous*, *Queen*, and such whose sides fall in, are most to be depended on in winter for service.

I have lately been informed, that a practice prevails amongst the prize agents at Malta of compounding with the claimants of detained neutral vessels, by which they agree to drop the suit against them in the Admiralty Court, in consideration of a sum of money. This practice I apprehend to be totally unauthorized, in its consequences attended with many evils, and probably the origin of those complaints which have been made by foreign courts. The property must either be enemy's or not. In the one case they compound with the enemy; in the other a neutral is laid under contribution. The merchant would, perhaps, rather pay a certain sum than risk the expenses and loss of a long and tedious suit; but when he goes home, he states to his court that he has been seized by a British ship, and laid under contribution at Malta.

With the total want of intelligence, your Lordship will know how difficult it is to form a conjecture of what the enemy is likely to undertake, whether against this island, the Morea, or Egypt. I shall keep the best watch I can upon them all, and whenever they make a movement be ready to oppose them.

FROM THE MARQUESS DI CIRCELLO,

MINISTER OF STATE TO THE KING OF NAPLES.

Palermo, December 22, 1807.

I have the honour to introduce to your Excellency the bearer of this letter, the Chevalier Micheroux, a Colonel and Capitaine de Vaisseau in His Majesty's navy. The particular object of his mission is to welcome your Excellency, on the part of

the King, my master, on your arrival at Syracuse. His Majesty, at the same time, has charged me to convey to your Excellency the sincere satisfaction which he has felt on receiving the intelligence of your appearing before one of his ports, and to add, that His Majesty has been always most desirous to be personally acquainted with your Excellency, and that on this occasion His Majesty has a pleasing prospect of seeing this wish realized.

I feel very happy in communicating to your Excellency these sentiments from my royal master, and I indulge a sanguine hope that, together with the honour of making your acquaintance, I shall have the advantage of expressing my admiration and the homage of my highest consideration.

TO HIS CHILDREN.

MY DEAREST CHILDREN, *Ocean, on the Sea, December 26, 1807.*

A few days ago I received your joint letter, and it gave me much pleasure to hear that you were well, and I hope improving in your education. It is exactly at your age that much pains should be taken; for whatever knowledge you acquire now will last you all your lives. The impression which is made on young minds is so strong that it never wears out; whereas, every body knows how difficult it is to make an old snuff-taking lady comprehend any thing beyond Pam or Spadille. Such persons hang very heavy on society; but you, my darlings, I hope will qualify yourselves to adorn it, to be respected for your good sense, and admired for your gentle manners. Remember that gentle manners are the first grace which a lady can possess. Whether she differ in her opinion from others, or be of the same sentiment, her expressions should be equally mild. A positive contradiction is vulgar and ill-bred; but I shall never

suspect you of being uncivil to any person. I received Mrs. ——'s letter, and am much obliged to her for it. She takes a lively interest that you should be wise and good. Do not let her be disappointed. For me, my girls, my happiness depends upon it; for should I return to England, and find you less amiable than my mind pictures you, or than I have reason to expect, my heart would sink with sorrow. Your application must be to useful knowledge. Sarah, I hope, applies to geometry, and Mary makes good progress in arithmetic. Independently of their use in every situation in life, they are sciences so curious in their nature, and so many things that cannot be comprehended without them are made easy, that were it only to gratify a curiosity which all women have, and to be let into secrets that cannot be learned without that knowledge, it would be a sufficient inducement to acquire them. Then do, my sweet girls, study to be wise.

I am now at sea, looking for some Frenchmen whom I have heard of; but I was lately at Syracuse, in Sicily. It was once a place of great note, where all the magnificence and arts known in the world flourished: but it was governed by tyrants, and a city which was twenty-two miles in circumference is now inconsiderable. Its inhabitants have great natural civility; I never was treated with so much in my life. The Nobility, who live far from the Court, are not contaminated by its vices; they are more truly polite, with less ostentation and show. On my arrival there, the Nobility and Senate waited on me in my ship. Another day came all the military: the next, the Vicar-General, for the Bishop was absent, and all the Clergy. I had a levee of thirty priests—all fat, portly-looking gentlemen. In short, nothing was wanting to shew their great respect and regard for the English. The Nobles gave me and the Officers of the fleet a ball and supper, the most elegant thing I ever saw, and the best conducted.

The ladies were as attentive to us as their lords, and there were two or three little Marquisinas who were most delightful creatures. I have heard men talk of the *dieux de la danse*, but no goddesses ever moved with the grace that distinguished the sisters of the Baron Bono.—God bless you! my dear girls.

TO VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH.

Ocean, at Sea, December 27, 1807.

I transmit to your Lordship a packet of papers, which, having been thrown overboard from a Russian light transport, when she was spoken with by a ship of our squadron, on her passage from Ancona to Corfu, was taken out of the sea by Captain Lord Cochrane. Some of those papers appear to me of considerable importance. They shew the value which the French attach to Corfu, and their impatience to provision it. In this they have hitherto met with great disappointments, as above 500 of the troops, and most of the provisions going over to them, have been captured, and the vessels sunk. The correspondence of the Consul Bessière with Ali Pacha contains the arguments used to attach that Pacha to the French, and to reconcile him to the French General Berthier, who had held a menacing language towards him. It does not appear in any of them what was the proposal of Ali Pacha to the French Government, as the condition of his alliance; but it is probable that the Pacha's farther discovery of their hostile plans has caused him to relinquish his views in such connexion.

In the letter of M. Bessière to Ali, your Lordship will find, that the letter which the Pacha had ordered to be written to General Villette, at Malta, was obtained by a French agent there, from the person in whose hands it was when General Villette had left the

island, and was sent to the French Consul, by way of Leghorn. I have written to Sir Alexander Ball, to endeavour to discover who is the agent employed by the French at Malta, for the purpose of communicating intelligence; and have only to observe to your Lordship, that we contend on very unequal terms, when the most important secrets of our Government, and those who would be our allies, are thus to be obtained by the enemy; while, on the part of the French, the most trifling operation of intrigue or war is kept profoundly secret, until it is unfolded in the execution.

Our frigates, cruising before Corfu and in the Adriatic, have been such an impediment to their establishing themselves in Corfu, that I apprehend they have found it necessary, for that purpose, to send from Toulon the squadron which was discovered at Tunis on the 17th. Admiral Thornborough, with six sail, left Palermo on the 19th. On the 22d, a fleet was seen from Malta, which was doubtless the French. On the 23d, I sailed from Syracuse, to proceed towards Corfu; and at this time have every reason to believe that the enemy's fleet are somewhere between this squadron and Vice-Admiral Thornborough's. I hope for every good.

TO J. E. BLACKETT, ESQ.

Ocean, off Cephalonia, January 1, 1808.

I beg to offer you my congratulations on this your birth-day, that you may see many returns of it in uninterrupted health and tranquillity; then may long life be borne patiently. All it can give of happiness I wish you, and that my dear Sarah may be a comfort to you through many succeeding years. My children have written me many letters, and it is very delightful to me that they appear to be happy and contented where they are. I hope they

will acquire a knowledge of such things as will enable them to go through the world creditably. Poor things, they have a long time to live, and a thorny path to make their way through: I hope they will be as little torn as possible by the rude briars that may stretch across their way, and have spirits firm enough not to mind a little scratch. I had delightful letters from them lately, in which they tell me that they are labouring to gain wisdom.

In October and November I was off Toulon, where my ships suffered much from the severity of the weather. On the 6th of December I came to Syracuse to refit them: it is a good port, and all the people there were particularly kind and polite in their attentions to us. The Sicilian nobility of that district gave us a ball and supper, which was one of the most magnificent things ever seen. Notwithstanding all this, there are reflections which press upon the mind irresistibly in viewing the ruins and tracing the extent of this once famous city, which was twenty-two miles in circumference, and is scarcely half a mile long. Where the palace of Dionysius was, there are now a little mill and a pig-sty. The foundations remain of the amphitheatre, where formerly 100,000 people assembled to view the public spectacles. The cavern called Dionysius's ear is perfect and curious. Sound is so reverberated and increased from its sides, that the least whisper is made as loud as a trumpet; and a little pistol with a thimbleful of gunpowder roars like thunder. In this cavern Dionysius is said to have kept his state prisoners, and by means of a hole in the side and near the top to have discovered all their secrets and plans. Within the ancient wall there are farms, and vineyards, and pastures, as, in the course of time, there may be corn-fields and hop-grounds in St. James's Street or the Royal Exchange. I was too busy to see much of it, for it is long since I had any leisure. An

express from the Sicilian Minister, to inform me that the French were at sea, caused me to sail very suddenly; and as, from the route in which they were discovered, and the great preparations making in the Adriatic, (to direct which Buonaparte is at Venice,) I had every reason to believe they were coming to this point, I have endeavoured to intercept them in their way, and to sustain the squadron of frigates which I have off Corfu. Hitherto I have been disappointed. I am, however, not yet without hope: but should they escape me, it will grieve me to the very heart. I have left nothing undone to defeat their purpose: if they succeed, I shall be very unfortunate. God help me!

TO THE RIGHT HON. W. DRUMMOND.

Ocean, Syracuse, January 9, 1808.

I arrived here yesterday with the squadron from off Cephalonia, and have received the honour of your Excellency's letter. Our situation with the Russians and Austrians (for except that Austria is not a maritime power, our political relation is much the same) is at this period very critical. I have no doubt that both have entered fully into the measures of France; and the Russian, in the novelty of his situation, would recommend himself to his new ally by a violent and presumptuous demeanour to his former friend; but such intemperance should not sway us from a conduct which is due to our Country's honour and its interest.

The information from Mr. Adair, that Lord Granville Leveson Gower had been ordered to quit Petersburg, made measures of precaution necessary, that we should be prepared to repel any hostility; but it is for His Majesty alone to determine when war shall be commenced.

The Russian ship at Palermo is under peculiar circumstances: if Admiral Thornborough stop her in port, it is an interference with the civil government of Sicily; if, after her departure, he detain her at sea, it is an absolute commencement of war. This is the highest prerogative of the crown, which no officer can invade under any circumstances; still less can he presume to decide, with the present scanty information, as to what are to be the future relations between the two kingdoms. I should therefore recommend that an application be made to the Sicilian Court for an embargo to be laid on all Russian ships in the ports of Sicily, which, as her defensive ally, we may justly enforce with our power. We shall thus shew respect to Sicily, by not infringing her rights, and in the meanwhile prevent one who may soon become our acknowledged enemy from doing harm.

TO THE EARL OF MULGRAVE.

Ocean, at Syracuse, January 11, 1808.

On a report of the French squadron having put to sea, I sailed from hence with a view to intercept them in their way to the Adriatic, whither I had no doubt they were going. The information was founded in a mistake; and on my return I was relieved from much anxiety by the receipt of their Lordships' order to act against the Russians. Mr. Adair, at Vienna, had prepared me for such an event; but a subject of such importance required that the necessity of acting hostilely should be most clearly ascertained. The Russian ships sailed from Corfu on the 26th last, when they were probably informed of the war: yet they passed our squadron without shewing the least disposition to annoy them, though there was only the Standard with two frigates. I now propose to proceed into the Adriatic; and if I find them in any situation where they may be

assailed, I shall be glad of it. Your Lordship may trust I will spare no pains to get to them.

The state of Sicily is becoming exceedingly critical. The French are marching a large body of forces into the south of Calabria, which have already approached so near to Scylla as to skirmish with the Massi, quartered near it. I think it probable that a great effort will be made against this island, when I believe the principal, perhaps the only resistance, will be by the British forces. The want of frigates on the coast, to bring and convey intelligence to all quarters, is very great; and I entreat your Lordship to reinforce me with ships of that class. I should be glad that Captain Hoste, of the *Amphion*, should come, for he is active, vigilant, and knows the coast; and more depends upon the man than the ship. In general, the ships are overmasted for the constant sea service which they have. For a summer's passage they might do very well, but some ships here are from port sixteen or twenty months; and those with preposterous masts, as the *Endymion*, *Canopus*, and some others, are soon to pieces by the weight of them, while ships masted as the *Ocean* is do not suffer. It is past doubt that the light-masted sail best.

The Turks have sent a letter, which I forwarded to Lord Castlereagh by the *Tigre*, which I believe to contain some proposal for an accommodation with us; and I have directed Captain Stewart, who is an intelligent officer, stationed off the Dardanelles, to endeavour to open a correspondence with the Capitan Pacha, for the ostensible purpose of recovering some Englishmen who have been wrecked in a prize on the island of Cyprus, but really to give that Government an opportunity of sending any proposal which they have to make to His Majesty's Ministers.

TO THE SENATE OF SYRACUSE.

Ocean, at Syracuse, January 13, 1808.

I have received the honour of your letter, in which, adverting to the proposed dismemberment and division of the bishoprick of Syracuse, and representing the former happy state of the diocese through many ages, its declension, from events over which the inhabitants had no control, and your apprehensions of the consequences of the proposed measure,—you request my intercession with His Majesty the King of the Two Sicilies, that he will be graciously pleased to continue the present establishment of the Cathedral, the dismemberment of which you conceive would be injurious to the interests of religion, to the cultivation of learning and science in the seminaries, and to the general happiness of the people.

I am a stranger, Gentlemen, who in the service of my King am come to your coasts to aid in the defence of the states of his friend and ally : I have found at Syracuse a people generous, hospitable, and warm with attachment to their Sovereign, and am already inspired with a sincere interest in whatever relates to them, and nothing shall be wanting in which I can contribute to their happiness. I am a stranger also to your Sovereign, for I have not yet had an opportunity of shewing my true devotion to the honour of his crown and the welfare of his people. You will feel with me all the weighty motives which must restrain me from any interposition which may be deemed improper and unauthorized ; but from my strong impression of the justice and wise policy of abstaining from all doubtful innovations, as well as from the respect and esteem which I bear to you, I will presume to approach His Majesty with my humble request that he will be graciously pleased to give a favourable ear to the petition

of his loyal Syracusans, and defer the intended division of the diocese until the Clergy and Senate shall have submitted to him a representation of the probable consequences of that measure.

TO THE RIGHT HON. WM. DRUMMOND.

Ocean, at Syracuse, January 13, 1808.

Syracuse is so particularly situated, and so much may depend on the exertion of its people, that I should conceive that a policy the reverse of diminishing its power, a policy to aggrandize it, to increase its population, and to attach them strongly, and by every means, to the true interests of their Country, would, in the course of events, be found highly beneficial. They have an admirable port, but no trade; a beautiful country, but the badness of the roads makes it a desert.

As the port is at this time a station of great importance to the safety of the state, it is a misfortune that any innovation should be made, which may lessen the ability of its inhabitants to render good service to their Country, or diminish their number. I have written to the Marquess di Circello on this subject, and I entreat your Excellency's good offices to prevent a measure which will be so injurious to Syracuse.

TO THE MARQUESS DI CIRCELLO.

Ocean, off Calabria, January 15, 1808.

I have not until this day received the honour of your Lordship's letter, which was brought to Syracuse by the Chevalier Micheraux; for having proceeded to sea before the arrival of that officer, the letter was sent after me. I am exceedingly flattered by the honourable attention which His Majesty has been

graciously pleased to shew me in his desire that I should be presented to him at Palermo. No circumstance would be more gratifying to me than to be enabled to pay my personal respects to His Majesty and the Queen. I hope their Majesties already know me to be zealously employed in their service; and whenever the urgency of it will permit me to repair to their court, I will not fail personally to assure them of my anxious desire to render to their states every benefit which is in my power. To do it most effectually is to seek the enemy before he approaches them, which is the reason that I am so little in the ports of Sicily, or in any port.

TO VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH.

Ocean, at Sea, January 26, 1808.

I do not know that your Lordship has given the Consul at Tripoli instructions as to exciting the Pacha to hostility against the French. I should rather think not; because a state so insignificant in its marine could give little aid to our operations here, and their neutrality secures to them a communication with Malta, more free than it would be in a state of war, which is of the first importance to us. All their losses would be considered as the consequence of their attachment to us; and there would be continual demands for indemnification for them. This would probably give rise to discussions unfavourable to the harmony which we would preserve with them; and considering how versatile and capricious a people they are, whenever the French bid higher for their friendship, they would be sure to have it.

TO SIR ALEXANDER BALL.

Ocean, off Syracuse, January 27, 1808.

When I arrived at Corfu, finding the Russians were gone quite up the Adriatic, by all accounts in no condition for any service, but sent from Corfu because the means of subsisting them was difficult, I did not see the necessity of my going up with the large ships; I therefore victualled the Standard, and am returned to know here what the French are doing in Calabria. The Emperor Alexander has acted unwisely; without gaining a friend in the world, he has drawn on himself the contempt, and perhaps the hatred of his subjects. He should have known that Buonaparte has no passion but ambition, no friend but such as can be made subservient to his aggrandizement. Having gained his object, he no longer cares for him, and is by this time ready to go to war with him upon the smallest difference. The plea of the Russian Bishops for not renouncing the anathema against Buonaparte, speaks their disgust at his conduct, and at the servile debasement of their Prince. Infallibility I have understood is not a tenet of the Greek Church, and was one of those on which they differed with the Church of Rome when they separated: but the wisdom of their argument is not weakened by that. You read the letter from the Consul at Tripoli, and would observe that he also is panting for a political intrigue, a little snug war of his own making. It is very extraordinary that Consuls, peaceful ministers, sent abroad to promote friendship and maintain harmony amongst nations, never think that they have done half their business until they can stir up a little mischief.

TO THE RIGHT HON. W. DRUMMOND.

Ocean, at Syracuse, February 6, 1808.

As the French are making approaches to this Island, having taken Reggio, and, with the heavy cannon obtained from the captured Sicilian gun-boat, being prepared for the attack of Scylla, I could not but with surprise and concern observe the perfect indifference among the Sicilians at those events. I wrote a letter to the Governor of this place to inform him of what had happened, and to inquire of him what Sicilian force he had under his orders, and within the limits of his government, to oppose an enemy which might appear. His reply must be painful to every one who takes an interest in the defence of Sicily, and would preserve its Monarch from the humiliation which must be the consequence of its conquest. He states, that of all sorts of men on the military roll there are above 700, including artillery, invalids, and militia; but that they are merely upon the roll, for they are unarmed, undisciplined, and without any kind of pay. In answer to my request to know what the establishment of Officers was, by whom those men were to be directed in battle, he tells me that the only officers are two Ensigns, without experience in military affairs, and who, I suppose, know as little of their corps as the men do of them. This I understand to be the general state of places on the coast, and that no where is the population of the country organized, or prepared to take that part in its defence which may be expected from a loyal people. To repair those defects, I would propose a mode to be immediately adopted, which will prepare the minds of the people for the part they are to take, give them enough of military knowledge for them to act with effect, be attended with little expense, and, above all, inspire the

nobility and people of Sicily with that pride which men feel when they possess the confidence of their Prince.

The language of the Court to the people should be this: "Our friends the English will assist us; but it is from Sicilians, from the energies of a brave and loyal people, in the defence of their Country, that we look for the preservation of our honour, and for deliverance from our enemies." I would propose that four Sicilian officers of experience should be appointed to this district, not nominal, but effective men, who could drill, exercise, and instruct the people in the use of arms. To them should be added such young men of the noble and most attached families as can be assembled, the more of them the better, who, by some little attention of the Court, might be made to receive their appointments as a high honour, and serve without pay. A large quantity of arms came to Sicily from England; and every day one-third of his militia, artillery, &c. should march off from the Governor's house and exercise. An emulation would thus be created among the three divisions for superiority and skill; and the people in general, nobility and peasantry, would begin to think their individual well-being connected with the defence of their Country.

TO THE EARL OF MULGRAVE.

Ocean, Sicily, February 10, 1808.

I have received a letter from the sister of Mr. William Chalmers, who was Master of the Royal Sovereign, and slain in the battle with the combined fleet off Cape Trafalgar. His death reduced to great distress a family, whose dependance for comfort, and almost support, appears to have been on the aid which he gave to an aged, infirm, and kind parent. He was himself a man of most

respectable character, and a faithful servant of his Country. His family has received the allowance that Government has appointed for them in such cases, and are yet in distress. What can I do for them but submit their misfortunes to the humane consideration of your Lordship? and express my belief, that if any little pension could be given to this now unprotected family, it would be most worthily bestowed.

The fickle policy of the Sicilian Court had now veered round to the Russians, whose invasion they had so lately dreaded; and this change was attributed by Lord Collingwood to a not unreasonable apprehension on the part of the Queen, that the few English troops in that island, though they might draw down upon it the vengeance of Napoleon, were insufficient for its defence. After the declaration of war by Russia, the most marked attention was paid to the Minister of that Country at Palermo, and all the remonstrances which were made against the continuance of the Russian frigate in the port were unavailing. In the meantime, the French were occupying Calabria; and the heavy artillery of which they were in want for the siege of Scylla, was supplied by the surrender, without resistance, of some Sicilian gun-boats.

TO THE EARL OF MULGRAVE.

Ocean, Syracuse, February 14, 1808.

Ever since the reduction of the English forces in this island, the Queen has been most active in bringing forward her plans; and her party, which is composed of numerous French, with M. St. Clair at their head, are now very powerful. Their views and

intentions open, without reserve, as the French army advanced, which is in complete possession of every place on the Continent, except Scylla, and that, it is supposed, cannot long be maintained. I do not know whether troops are coming from England to reinforce the army here; but unless they arrive soon, I think they will be too late: for they will not only have to repulse the French, but to maintain that consideration and influence in the Country which every day is growing less. I have ordered the communication between Sicily and Calabria to be stopped, and all boats passing without passports from the commanding officers to be seized as conspirators against the Government of Sicily, and carrying on correspondence with the enemy.

TO MOHAMMED ALI, PACHA OF EGYPT.

MOST EXCELLENT PACHA,

Ocean, at Sicily, February 20, 1808.

Although I fully expected that the engagement which your Excellency made to the British officers, when they left Egypt, for restoring the prisoners then in the country, would have been religiously complied with, I am willing to believe that no want of good faith on your part is the cause of their detention, but that the persons whom your Excellency employed in recovering them have been less diligent than they ought to have been in the execution of your commands. I trust that no time will be lost in performing what you solemnly engaged to do. Ten men only were returned, and I have now sent a ship to receive the others. I am glad to hear that the differences and discontents which existed among the Beys are all composed, and that Egypt, which has the happiness of being under your protection and government, is enjoying those blessings which must ever be the effect of a temperate and wise dispensation of the

laws. Although we are unhappily, through the intrigues of France, in a state of war with the Sublime Porte, yet Englishmen never lose that regard which they naturally feel for an ancient friend ; and I look forward to the day, when God will open the eyes of the Sultan to his true interests, and put him on his guard against the arts of those who, feigning friendship, have only the subversion of the Ottoman Empire in their view. It behoves you, at this time, to be much upon your guard, and to put Alexandria in the best state of defence you can, to repel any enemy that may come there. I would recommend you to close your harbour, so that large ships may not enter it. Alexandria is a city well situated for a great commerce. Ports to hold your merchant vessels are all that are necessary to you ; for larger ships only endanger your peace. That the French, who, as your Excellency well knows, are the enemies of all Governments, have the design of establishing themselves in your Country, can be little doubted ; and they are at this time busied in preparing the minds of the people to receive them favourably. A small French vessel was lately taken by one of my cruisers from Marseilles, bound to Candia, Cyprus, and the coast of Syria. She was full of books, printed in the Turkish language, which were to have been distributed amongst the subjects of the Porte, for the purpose of persuading them that resistance to the French was folly, and that it was their interest to betray their Country, and attach themselves to France. This single circumstance, when your Excellency considers that they have subdued nations more by the practice of their insidious arts than by their arms, should put you on your guard against their emissaries who may come to Cairo or Alexandria.

I wish your Excellency much happiness, and that God may please to give us peace, that I may indeed be your friend.

TO VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH.

Ocean, off Maritimo, March 2, 1808.

The Pacha of Albania having requested that a vessel which he had at Constantinople, on his own personal service, might be allowed to return to him at Prevesa, I considered that advantages may arise from keeping those States in a friendly temper, and in the hope that he may be induced thereby to interest himself for the liberation of some seamen who have unhappily fallen into the power of the Turks, I have granted him this indulgence, of which I trust your Lordship will not disapprove.

The Minister of His Sardinian Majesty has repeated his request that more naval force may be sent to the coasts of that island. There are at present a frigate and a sloop; and I would comply with his wish, if there were ships which could be disengaged from other services which appear to be more urgent; but no immediate danger to that island is stated to be impending, nor more troops in Corsica than are usually kept there. It therefore appears to me, that the observance of an honest and impartial neutrality by that kingdom, would more effectually preserve it from insult from France, than the protection which many more ships of war could give them, although they would tend to excite against them the animosity of the French.

FROM THE MARQUESS DI CIRCELLO.

Palermo, March 9, 1808.

I feel extremely gratified in fulfilling the duty imposed upon me by my Royal Master, of conveying to your Excellency the sentiments which His Majesty has expressed on receiving the assurances which you have been pleased to give, of your determination

to defend this island against any attempt of our common foe. His Majesty, impressed with a due sense of gratitude, desires your Excellency to receive his sincere acknowledgments, and the assurance of his unbounded reliance on the zeal of an officer so justly reckoned among the first supporters of the Empire of his august Ally. The King has heard with much pleasure that the British squadrons have safely joined under your Excellency's command, and anticipates, as we all do, the happiest results, if so brave a Commander should succeed in drawing the enemy out of their holds.

I cannot close this letter without mentioning again His Majesty's earnest hope, that your Excellency will some day or other appear before his Capital, whenever your zeal for the service will allow you to give way to a little repose; and in stating thus much, in the King's name, I anticipate the gratification of my own particular wish, to become personally acquainted with your Excellency, and convince you of the high esteem, respect, and admiration with which your conduct has impressed me.

TO LADY COLLINGWOOD.

Ocean, March 9, 1808.

I am just now cruising with my fleet off Maritimo, and intend continuing here until I get information to lead me to the French, which I expect very soon, and then hope that God will bless me. Our Country requires that great exertions should be made to maintain its independence and its glory. You know, when I am earnest on any subject, how truly I devote myself to it; and the first object of my life, and what my heart is most bent on, (I hope you will excuse me,) is the glory of my Country. To stand a barrier between the ambition of France and the independence of England, is the first

wish of my life; and in my death, I would rather that my body, if it were possible, should be added to the rampart, than trailed in useless pomp through an idle throng.

I suppose at Newcastle every thing is in its usual style of mirth and festivity; so that you would know nothing of the war, were it not for a newspaper. I seldom read newspapers, having quite enough of war without them. I have now as large a fleet as was ever employed from England, consisting of thirty sail of the line, and eighty ships of war of different sorts. You may easily conceive, that in the common occurrences of such a fleet, I have not much time to amuse myself. I have been rather unfortunate lately in not catching a small squádrón of the enemy; but it was chance. I went to Corfu in January: the hard gales disabled my ships, and I found that, by continuing there, I should have no fleet when better weather came. A month after I left them, the enemy appeared there. Where they came from, is not well ascertained; but I hope, before it is long, we shall know a great deal more about them. I have had many misfortunes lately in my fleet, and dread more: they have made me sad. I believe I told you Clavell was a Post-Captain, at which I rejoice; and yet it is a great drawback on our gratification at the success of friends, that it has its origin in the misfortunes of others. God bless you, and make you completely happy!

TO VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH.

Ocean, off Naples, March 13, 1808.

When the Saracen went to cruise off the coast of Egypt, I directed the Commander to take an opportunity of communicating with Alexandria, and endeavour, through the means of Mr. Petrucci, the Swedish Consul, to obtain the liberation of the

soldiers who were taken at Rosetta, and are still prisoners. They are become the property of individuals; and the Pacha pleads in excuse for not performing his engagement, that he is unable to raise the money for their purchase, which is 200 dollars each.

The intelligence which has been received from Smyrna, that the Turks have engaged to join their squadron to that of France and Russia, is of high importance; and the only thing that makes me doubt it is, that the most perfect secrecy is observed by the French of their real intentions, while it is a common practice to circulate rumours of measures which either are not meant to be undertaken, or are very remote. Sicily is the point to which their force seems now to be directed, and every report which might remove my force to a distance from it is likely to be circulated. I am endeavouring now to get intelligence where the Toulon ships are, and whether they have been joined by those from Rochefort, or any others: but as there is no communication with the Continent (the embargo having completely closed the little there was), nor a ship of any nation to be met with on the sea, your Lordship will conceive how difficult it is to obtain any information. I am come here for the purpose, and afraid at the same time of being too distant from Sicily. It is exceedingly distressing to be so entirely without any knowledge of them, either where they are or what their force is.

TO LORD RADSTOCK.

Ocean, off Sicily, April 4, 1808.

I am much obliged by your Lordship's kind letter of the 7th December, which I received when I was last in port, and have since been so completely occupied, and my mind so entirely engaged with those Frenchmen, that I have really thought of nothing

else. I have great satisfaction in telling you that I think I have a fair prospect of having a battle with them soon. The Rochefort squadron came into the Mediterranean on the night of the 26th January. I never heard of them until the 22d of February, nor had any certain account where they were till yesterday. They joined, it seems, the Toulon ships, and with them sailed to Corfu. I do not understand this movement to have had any object but that of drawing our fleet up thither. I had sought them at Naples, and sent frigates every where to discover them; but no intelligence is now to be depended on except that which is obtained by our own ships meeting them. I expected to have found them at Tarentum, with an armament to proceed against Sicily; but when I went thither, not a ship was there. After refitting at Corfu, before I was certain they were there, they sailed, and three days since were seen going down the Mediterranean; I apprehend to Minorca, to join the Spaniards. From all quarters I hear that their object is the reduction of this island, and have, therefore, little doubt that I shall before long find them, and find them confident of their own strength, and therefore in no haste to go off. Sir Richard Strachan, having pursued them to this station, makes the fleet strong enough for any thing, but Sicily itself is as weak as can be. It is a kingdom which has nothing in it which constitutes the strength of a country, but divided councils,—a King who ought to rule, and a Queen who will,—no army for its defence,—its military works ruinous,—without revenue, except just enough to support their gaieties,—a nobility without attachment to a Court where foreigners find a preference,—and a people who, having nothing beyond their daily earnings, are indifferent as to who rules them, and look to a change for an amelioration of their condition. Every cause of weakness in a country is to be found here; factions alone are abundant.

Our army is increasing on the east side, and will do all that such an army is capable of; yet I think that beating their fleet alone will save it. You will suppose that this is a very anxious time for me, but I study day and night what is best to be done, and I trust in God that the event will be happy for our Country. From Turkey I hear they are making preparations of defence every where, doubtless against the French. They have strengthened the passage of the Dardanelles very much, and have a boom across it, which is ingenious, and perhaps the only kind of boom that could be used in so wide a passage. Several rafts of old masts and large timber, chained together, are moored across the strait, at the distance of a hundred yards, so that a passage for vessels is left between them. Those rafts, on any alarm, are connected by a chain from one to the other, quite across, and the whole is flanked by three hundred guns.

My health is pretty good,—as well as I ought to expect, considering the cares upon my mind; but they have worn me very very much. I hope Captain Waldegrave is well, and has got such a ship as he likes: he knows how much I esteem him. He is an officer who will do justice to his Country whenever he is employed.

TO THE EARL OF MULGRAVE.

Ocean, at Sea, April 23, 1808.

It is certain your Lordship cannot know many of those gentlemen who are recommended by their friends: one of them is turned off the quarter-deck for some unofficerlike behaviour. I think your Lordship will approve of his reforming before he is promoted.

I some time since recommended, that as ships came out they should bring 80 or 100 boys of fourteen or sixteen years of age. Such

boys soon become good seamen: landsmen very rarely do, for they are confirmed in other habits. One hundred Irish boys came out two years since, and are now the topmen in the fleet. I am very much distressed that no intelligence can be obtained of the enemy: finding they had not joined the Spaniards, I suspected they might have come round the islands to Sicily. Nothing can be more distressing than our present situation. The *Amphion* is gone to Toulon, and to search the ports of Italy.

TO THE REIS EFFENDI.

Ocean, at Sea, April 24, 1808.

Captain Stewart, the Commander of His Majesty's ship the *Seahorse*, has communicated to me a letter which he had received from your Excellency; which letter afforded me much satisfaction, as it contained expressions of regard towards my Sovereign and the British nation, and of the desire of the Sublime Porte that peace should be restored between two nations, whose esteem and amicable relations to each other had been strengthened by a friendly intercourse through a long series of years, but have been suspended by circumstances resulting from that political convulsion which has shaken so many States in Europe, and continues to threaten more.

I am sorry that while the Sublime Porte entertains sentiments which promise benefits of such importance to both our States, there is not any person in the Mediterranean authorized by the King to confer with the Turkish Plenipotentiary on the terms on which hostilities may cease and friendship be renewed. As I understood from His Highness the Pacha of Joannina that the letter of your Excellency which he forwarded to me in December contained a

desire that peace should be restored, I lost no time in forwarding it to His Majesty's Ministers in London, and doubt not that a reply is now on the way hither, and probably a Minister, for the purpose of negotiating. Until such powers shall arrive, there is no person authorized to suspend hostilities; but it is my sincere hope that this delay may not be of long continuance.

TO LADY COLLINGWOOD.

Ocean, off Toulon, May 15, 1808.

I hope you are very well and more at your ease than I am, for I have had labour and anxiety enough to wear any creature to a thread. Since the 23d of February, when I first heard of the French coming into the Mediterranean, I have been in constant pursuit of them, with little intelligence, and what came to me was often very contradictory, sometimes, I believe, fabricated for the purpose of deception, so that in all my pursuits I have arrived at places only to learn that they were gone from thence. The only satisfaction that I have is, that they have done nothing; for when they found that there was a probability of being overtaken, they quitted the place immediately. At sea there is no getting intelligence, as there used to be on former occasions, for now there is not a trading ship upon the seas — nothing but ourselves. It is lamentable to see what a desert the waters are become. It has made me almost crazy; and if I had not a very good constitution, would have worn me quite out, for I know that in England success is the only criterion by which people judge, and to want that is always reckoned a great crime. But I have felt the service in my heart, and have left nothing undone that my anxious mind suggested. I never despair of meeting them, and making a happy day

for old England. Young —— has returned to me, but I have little hope of his being a sailor. He does not take notice of any thing, nor any active part in his business; and yet I suppose when he has dawdled in a ship six years he will think himself very ill used if he be not made a Lieutenant. Offices in the Navy are now made the provision for all sorts of idle people.

I was sorry to hear any shyness should exist between ——; but politics and parties are great drawbacks on friendship. I shall always be of old England's party, and of that alone.

The Turks are now holding out both their hands for peace. I have managed to keep up a sort of correspondence with the Porte, and the Pachas of Albania and Egypt, in order to have an opening for any proposal which they might choose to make; and I lately had a letter from the Reis Effendi, which expressed, in the strongest terms, their desire of peace. I have transmitted it to the Ministers, and hope they will send somebody to treat with them. It would relieve a part of our force, and open an advantageous trade, which we seem now to want.

I have been long at sea, have little to eat, and scarcely a clean shirt; and often do I say, Happy lowly clown. Yet, with all this sea work, never getting fresh beef nor a vegetable, I have not one sick man in my ship. Tell that to Doctor ——.

The attention which Lord Collingwood paid to the health of his men has been already mentioned; but it may be added here, that in the latter years of his life he had carried his system of arrangement and care to such a degree of perfection, that perhaps no society in the world, of equal extent, was so healthy as the crew of

his flag-ship. She had usually 800 men ; was, on one occasion, more than one year and a half without going into port, and during the whole of that time never had more than six, and generally only four on her sick list. This result was occasioned by his attention to dryness, (for he rarely permitted washing between decks,) to the frequent ventilation of the hammocks and clothes on the booms, to the creating as much circulation of air below as possible, to the diet and amusement of the men, but, above all, by the contented spirits of the sailors, who loved their commander as their protector and friend, well assured that at his hands they would ever receive justice and kindness, and that of their comforts he was more jealous than of his own.

FROM H. R. H. THE DUKE OF CLARENCE.

MY DEAR LORD,

Bushy House, May 21, 1808.

A few days ago I received your Lordship's letter of the 30th March, which has given me great satisfaction. I am most warmly interested in all your operations, and must be allowed to be a sincere friend and wellwisher to the Navy ; for though I have lost one son on board the *Blenheim*, I have just started another with my old friend and shipmate Keats, and I have another breeding up for the quarter-deck. From the secrecy of those Frenchmen, and their power on the Continent, which are equally known to your Lordship and myself, the affairs of war are more intricate than ever ; but in your Lordship's hands the interests of our Country are safe. The great object of the enemy must be Sicily, for your Lordship observes with as much truth as wisdom, that we cannot maintain ourselves in the Mediterranean without that island. I sincerely trust that the next time the French venture out your

Lordship will fall in with them. The event will speak for itself—another Trafalgar. All I ask is, that the life of the gallant Admiral may be spared to his grateful Country.

Your Lordship mentions my approbation and friendship. Had not circumstances, which it is unnecessary to dwell upon, prevented my following our profession, I should have been proud to have seen the word approbation in your Lordship's letter; but situated as I am, I must to your Lordship confess that I merit not that epithet: but every individual that does his duty well is sure of my friendship. I need not say more to Lord Collingwood, the bosom friend of my ever to be lamented Nelson.

I took my second son to Deal, which gave me an opportunity of visiting the different ships there. I was very much pleased with what I saw, and found the Navy infinitely improved. This Country cannot pay too much attention to her naval concerns. We are the only barrier to the omnipotence of France; and it is to our Navy alone that we owe this superiority.

Though I have not yet the advantage of being personally known to your Lordship, I trust I may be occasionally permitted to take up my pen, and that as events may arise your Lordship will favour me with a few lines. I know your time is valuable. For the present, adieu. Believe me most sincerely interested in your Lordship's welfare, and in the success of those valuable officers and men under your Lordship's command.

I remain ever, my dear Lord, yours unalterably,

WILLIAM.

GENERAL ORDER.

*March 23, 1808.**

From every account received of the enemy, it is expected they may very soon be met with, in their way from Corfu and Tarentum, and success depends on a prompt and immediate attack on them. In order to which it will be necessary, that the greatest care be taken to keep the closest order in the respective columns during the night, which the state of the weather will allow, and that the columns be kept at such a sufficient distance apart, as will leave room for tacking or other movements; so that, in the event of calm or shift of wind, no embarrassment may be caused.

Should the enemy be found formed in order of battle with his whole force, I shall, notwithstanding, probably not make the signal to form the line of battle; but, keeping the closest order, with the van squadron attack the van of the enemy, while the Commander of the lee division takes the proper measures, and makes to the ships of his division the necessary signals for commencing the action with the enemy's rear, as nearly as possible at the same time that the van begins: of his signals, therefore, the Captains of that division will be particularly watchful.

* This General Order should, according to its date, have been printed somewhat earlier. In the battle of Trafalgar Lord Collingwood's ship broke the enemy's line, without having sustained much damage during her approach; but Lord Nelson's ship, and many others in both squadrons, while running down, were greatly injured by the raking fire of the combined fleet. The Order is inserted here, to shew how Lord Collingwood proposed to guard against this, by making his ships, as they should draw near the enemy, keep a line as nearly parallel to the hostile fleet as they could, and by preserving, at the same time, that celerity of attack which the order of sailing in two columns presents.

If the squadron has to run to leeward to close with the enemy, the signal will be made to alter the course together ; the van division keeping a point or two more away than the lee, the latter carrying less sail ; and when the fleet draws near the enemy, both columns are to preserve a line as nearly parallel to the hostile fleet as they can.

In standing up to the enemy from the leeward upon a contrary tack, the lee line is to press sail, so that the leading ship of that line may be two or three points before the beam of the leading ship of the weather line, which will bring them to action nearly at the same period.

The leading ship of the weather column will endeavour to pass through the enemy's line, should the weather be such as to make that practicable, at one-fourth from the van; whatever number of ships their line may be composed of. The lee division will pass through at a ship or two astern of their centre ; and whenever a ship has weathered the enemy, it will be found necessary to shorten sail as much as possible, for her second astern to close with her, and to keep away, steering in a line parallel to the enemy's, and engaging them on their weather side.

A movement of this kind may be necessary ; but, considering the difficulty of altering the position of the fleet during the time of combat, every endeavour will be made to commence battle with the enemy on the same tack they are ; and I have only to recommend and direct, that they be fought with at the nearest distance possible, in which getting on board of them may be avoided, which is always disadvantageous to us, except when they are flying.

The enemy will probably have a convoy of ships carrying troops, which must be disabled by the frigates, or whatever ships are not engaged, or whose signals may be made to attack the convoy, by

cutting their masts away, and rendering them incapable of escaping during the contest with their fleet.

In fine weather the watch are to bring their hammocks on deck with them in the night, which are to be stowed in the nettings ; so that on any sudden discovery of the enemy, they will have only to attend to the duty on deck, while the watch below clear the ship for action.

If any ship be observed by her second ahead to drop astern during the night to a greater distance than her station is, she is to notify it to her by shewing two lights, one over the other, lowered down the stern, so that it may not be seen by ships ahead ; and should a ship not be able to keep her station, those astern of her are to pass her and occupy the place she should have been in.

FROM MAHOMED ALI, PACHA OF EGYPT.

Cairo, May 24, 1808.

To the Excellent among the Chiefs of the Christian Powers, the Moderator of the Princes of the Religion of Jesus, the Possessor of sage counsel and luminous and abundant talent, the Expounder of the truth, the Model of courtesy and politeness, our true and real Friend, COLLINGWOOD, Admiral of the English Fleet. May his end be happy, and his course marked with brilliant and great events !

After many compliments to your Excellency, we inform you, most illustrious friend, that we have received your kind letters translated into Arabic, and have read them, and understood your advice (as beautifully expressed as it is wise), respecting the management and defence of our ports. Your assurances that you preserve a regard for an old and sincere friend, and your sage counsels,

have given us infinite content and joy. For what concerns your soldiers who remained in Egypt, you observe that, according to our treaty, all ought to be restored but those who have embraced the Mahometan religion, but that only ten had reached you: and you express your opinion, that this has arisen from the fault of those whom we had charged to collect them. We have not neglected these stipulations, but have ordered the soldiers to be collected; and all that have been found (except those who had become Turks) have been sent away by Mr. Petrucci, and their number is specified in letters addressed to your Excellency, beyond the ten of whom you speak. We desire and long for the strengthening of our friendship, by the making of peace and the renewal of our amicable intercourse, and we will employ all our efforts to deliver all the soldiers who remain. You express also your hope that God would grant us peace, that you might in truth be our friend: that is what we ardently desire and pray for. You shall ever have proofs of our abundant friendship and of our respectful affection; and we implore God to give effect thereto, and to preserve you ever in respect and esteem.

MOHAMMED ALI PACHA.

The French fleet, under Admiral Ganteaume, unfortunately escaped into Toulon about the middle of April, returning along the coast of Africa, while Lord Collingwood continued to watch the island of Sicily, which he ever believed to have been the real object of the expedition, and for the safety of which, as will have been seen in the preceding letters, he had such reasonable causes of apprehension. The disappointment of his hopes preyed upon his health, and greatly con-

tributed, with the toil to which he continued to be exposed, to shorten his days.

In the meanwhile, His Sicilian Majesty's brother, King Charles the Fourth of Spain, had reduced his dominions to the brink of ruin. From the year 1806, Ferdinand, then Prince of the Asturias, had engaged in secret plots against his father and his favourite, Godoy; and, to procure the concurrence of Napoleon, had solicited, in October 1807, that a lady of the Buonaparte family might be granted to him in marriage; but in October he was arrested, and charged by the King, in a proclamation, with having attempted parricide. On the 18th March a tumult broke out at Aranjuez: on the 19th, Charles the Fourth abdicated his throne in favour of his son, Ferdinand the Seventh; and on the 21st delivered to Murat a protestation, in which he declared that his abdication had been extorted by force, and reclaimed his rights. In April, the royal competitors proceeded to Bayonne, to plead their respective causes before Napoleon. On the 5th May, Napoleon and Charles, animated, as they declared, "by an equal desire to put an end to the anarchy to which Spain was a prey, and to place her in the single position in which she could maintain her integrity," concluded a treaty, by which Charles ceded Spain and the Indies,—an empire within whose limits, as it was said, the sun never sets,—in return for the château of Chambord, with the parks and farms which belonged to it. Ferdinand, on the 10th of the same month, acknowledged his father's renunciation, and ceded all his own rights for an annual salary and the palace and parks of Navarre. They were both, in the result, deprived by Napoleon of the indemnity for which they had stipulated, the father being sent first to Compiègne, and afterwards to Marseilles; and the son being detained in the custody of Prince Talleyrand, at his château of Valençay. The Spanish people,

however, resolved to maintain by arms the independence of their country; and communications were made by Castanos and the other generals to the English authorities at Gibraltar, in which they declared their determination, in case Napoleon should seize the persons of the remaining members of the Royal Family, to solicit the aid of the Archduke Charles of Austria, and to bestow upon him the provisional, or, if it should be ultimately needful, the permanent power.

When this intelligence was communicated to Lord Collingwood, he foresaw the difficulty which would occur in establishing any general government in the divided state of Spain; and being convinced that great advantage would be derived in the approaching contest from the direction of the power of that country being confided to a person of such authority and military talent as the Archduke Charles, he lost no time in despatching a letter to that Prince.

TO THE ARCHDUKE CHARLES OF AUSTRIA.

Ocean, May 29, 1808.

By a letter which I have received from the Governor of Gibraltar, and which encloses certain communications made to him from Spain, I am informed that, in consequence of the recent unhappy events that have happened to that kingdom and its Monarch, it is probable that the time may soon arrive when it will be desirable that your Imperial Highness should have the means of a speedy and safe conveyance to that country. As I do not doubt that, in providing your Imperial Highness with a proper ship for that purpose, my conduct will be approved of by His Majesty, I have sent one of the best appointed frigates to Trieste, to wait your Imperial Highness's com-

mands; and should your Imperial Highness embark in her, her Captain is ordered to proceed to whatever port in Spain you shall please to direct.

I have the honour to be, with the most profound respect, &c.

TO THE HON. WILLIAM WELLESLEY POLE.

Ocean, off Toulon, May 29, 1808.

Having learned the intention of the Spanish Government, in the event of their Princes all falling into the hands of the enemy, and considering the great distance which the Archduke Charles of Austria is from them, I have sent the *Amphion* to Trieste, with a letter addressed to that Prince, of which I enclose you a copy. If the Archduke should in this crisis be called to Spain, His Majesty's ship is ready to receive his Highness; should it be otherwise, Captain Hoste will be employed in the public service, where the enemy is very numerous. I hope their Lordships will approve of this step, which I have been induced to take immediately, lest, from the length of voyages at this season, the moment when that Prince could serve the Spanish nation might be past before he could appear there.

The enemy have now at Toulon twelve sail of the line; viz. ten French and two Russians, beside frigates. I do not think it is possible to maintain constantly a squadron before the port sufficient to blockade them, considering the great distance to which the ships must go for supplies of provisions and water. At the Magdalene Islands water cannot be got in summer, nor at any place nearer than Pula Bay; the consequence of which may be, that whenever the French sail, the squadron which is off that port may be few in number, and not sufficiently provided to follow to a great distance.

The practice of blockading the port where the enemy is lying, has

been so long established, that I feel great diffidence when I offer my opinion to their Lordships, that it never will at this place answer the intended purpose. I would propose instead of it, that the place of rendezvous should be off Cagliari, where the ships can be supplied in a short time from Sicily or Malta, and be always kept complete in water from Pula ; while the look-out frigates should watch Toulon, and on the French sailing, communicate the intelligence to a ship off Toro. I am convinced the ships cannot be supplied where they now are ; and shall direct Vice-Admiral Thornborough, before they get low, to adopt what I have described, because it appears to me to be the only practicable means of keeping the fleet connected and effective.

Austria was now preparing for war by a general reform and augmentation of her armies ; but as farther time was necessary for the completion of her projects, Count Metternich made repeated protestations to Napoleon of the pacific intentions of the Cabinet of Vienna, and, as one proof of them, communicated to him the letter which had been received from Lord Collingwood.* The Emperor Francis also,

* Mr. Schoëll, in his elaborate and valuable work, "*Histoire des Traités de Paix*," tome ix., mentions the receipt of this letter as an historical fact which had not been sufficiently explained, and which it was important to record, "as the veil which covered "it might some day be removed." It will be seen that the letter did not, as Mr. Schoëll seems to have supposed, pretend to offer the Spanish throne to the Archduke Charles, neither had the English Government "at that time formally acknowledged Ferdinand the "Seventh;" for the letter was written in May 1808, whereas the King's first order for the cessation of hostilities with Spain was dated 4th July, 1808; and it was not till January 1809 that the treaty acknowledging Ferdinand the Seventh was signed between the two countries.

in a letter written in September, assured Napoleon of his unalterable attachment, and spoke of the entire confidence which subsisted between them, in which nothing could be wanting to their mutual satisfaction ; and so far was Napoleon deceived by these declarations, that in October he directed the disbanding of the troops of the Confederation of the Rhine. At the same time, he informed the Emperor Francis in reply, that he had the power, but not the inclination, to dismember the Austrian Monarchy ; that such as it was, it subsisted by his pleasure ; and that the only useful policy in these days was simplicity and truth. He was then holding his Court at Erfurth, whither the Emperor of Russia and the German Monarchs had thronged to meet him ; and there Alexander, in return for the permission to seize Moldavia and Wallachia from the Turks, engaged that he would not interrupt the designs of Napoleon upon Spain. At this congress also, it appears that a formal partition of Turkey between France, Russia, and Austria, was proposed to the latter Power ; but in the meanwhile her preparations were completed, and in April 1809 she began the war which led to the capture of Vienna, and was terminated by the battle of Wagram.

TO THE RIGHT HON. WM. DRUMMOND.

Ocean, off Toulon, May 29, 1808.

By a despatch which I have just received, I am informed that the affairs of Spain are become exceedingly critical ; and as I understand that the French troops in Italy have been much reduced, and see that their squadron here are not preparing in a way which indicates an intention to leave the port soon, I consider Sicily as relieved for the present from the danger which seemed to impend over her when the enemy's squadron approached. I intend, therefore,

to proceed to Gibraltar, leaving Admiral Thornborough with the command of this part of my squadron.

I regret very much that things have happened to prevent my having the pleasure of seeing you, and paying my respects to His Majesty; but my mind was more occupied in the security of his Kingdom than in the personal gratification which I should have had in presenting myself at the Court of Palermo. I shall never lose the hope of having that pleasure.

Although the efforts of the French appear for the present to be directed to another object, Sicily will ever be in their view; and I hope that the interval of time which these events have gained for that Country will be turned to good advantage, by the establishment of a national defence, which will secure it against any sudden assault. The ruin of Spain has been caused by the administration of a minion; and I hope the King will profit by the example, and dismiss from his States those people whose characters are not merely suspicious, but whose influence is certain ruin.

FROM ALI PACHA OF JOANNINA.

June 2, 1808.

I am persuaded that it will be most agreeable to my Government at Constantinople to renew the good old friendship that subsisted with the English, and I feel extremely happy in being placed in a situation where I may render any service to two nations who were once the strictest friends and allies. I hope that, with your Excellency's concurrence, I shall ere long effect the wish of my heart, in the restoration of friendship with the illustrious British nation, and that the union of the two kingdoms will be confirmed for ever. If the machinations of the French be as bad as your Excellency repre-

sents them to be, the event must still depend upon the Divine will. In God's mercy are all our hopes, and frequent are the examples which we have of it; for he has many times left our enemies deluded with shame. I hope, however, that I shall soon have the pleasure to hear of the triumphs of the British arms, and that the enemy will be destroyed in the midst of his evil projects. As for myself, I shall be ever the same, at all times and in all circumstances. I spoke to Mr. Leake of what I thought most necessary at present, and I hope he has mentioned it to your Excellency. I anxiously wish that it may be put in execution as soon as possible, until we can stop the supplies of troops and provisions from entering the islands. The French Ambassador endeavours, by the most flattering words, to lessen the vigilance and attention of my Government; but all this will have no effect on the attachment which we bear to the English nation. I beg of your Excellency to favour me with any news you have; and I should be glad if you would write to me in future either in Italian, French, or Greek, as I have not a good interpreter for the English language. In the name of God, I wish you health, happiness, and the accomplishment of all your desires.

Your sincere and true Friend,

THE VIZIER ALI PACHA.

TO DON THOMAS DE MORLA,

CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF ANDALUSIA.

H. M. S. Ocean, off Cadiz, June 12, 1808.

Rear-Admiral Purvis has forwarded to me the copy of the summons which your Excellency, induced by that humanity which distinguishes the Spanish character, had sent to the Admiral commanding the French squadron. It may be true that Admiral

Rosily feels no hostility towards the Spanish nation ; but when his Government are taking the most active measures to subjugate your Country, and have led your Princes captive to their capital, there needs no more to prove the violation of every friendly connexion and alliance. The proposal which the Admiral makes to your Excellency's second summons appears to me to be merely an expedient to gain time, as he has no reason to believe that his squadron can pass the English without being assailed.

TO THE SAME.

Ocean, off Cadiz, Sunday, June 12, 1808.

I have received the letter of the 11th June, which your Excellency addressed to Admiral Purvis, in which your Excellency is pleased to ask the concurrence of the English commanders in the measures you propose to take against the French squadron. The line of conduct to be pursued is obvious. The French Government is engaged in overturning the constitution of your Country, and subjugating it to the will of their leader. A squadron of their ships is in your power. As the resistance which the French Commander has already made, and the proposals which he has offered to your Excellency, must fully justify him to his Country as having used every means that ingenuity could suggest to save his fleet, I should hope that, seeing how unavailing his efforts must be, he may spare his people from the consequences of further resistance, and surrender ; but if he determines to engage in the farther contest, your Excellency's humanity, in having endeavoured to spare a useless effusion of blood, will not be the less manifest.

TO THE HON. WM. WELLESLEY POLE.

Ocean, off Cadiz, June 12, 1808.

Their Lordships will be informed by Admiral Purvis's letter (which accompanies this) of the proceedings of the Spaniards against the French squadron, which lie up in the channel of the Carraccas, since which the French Admiral has offered terms of capitulation, proposing to dismantle his ships; but all conditions short of surrender are rejected by the Spaniards. I understand, indeed, that the irritation of the populace against the French is such, that the experiment of admitting them to any thing but unconditional submission is not likely to be attempted by the Governor. I learn that the higher orders do not shew that ardour in the cause which animates the people, but that they are borne along by an enthusiasm which they dare not resist. From this information, and from the unsettled state of their present establishment of Government, I conceive that all our intercourse with them requires much circumspection.

TO DON THOMAS DE MORLA.

H. M. S. Ocean, off Cadiz, June 14, 1808.

I lose no time in returning you my sincere thanks for your kind congratulations on my arrival near Cadiz, where I shall be glad to render my best assistance to a nation which I have ever held in the highest estimation. It is from the energies of the Spanish people, and from the example of what a great country can do when unanimous, that the Continent of Europe is to learn the means of repelling that usurpation which has bound so many States in a degrading dependence. It has always been the policy of France to cause

divisions before she resorted to arms. The attempt has been made in Spain,—it has failed,—and the nation is more firmly united, from a sense of the danger from which it has escaped. Allow me to offer your Excellency my congratulations on the surrender of the French squadron; and I hope it will soon be known that the success of your army has not been less advantageous. I shall be glad to hear that the irritation of the Spanish people towards the French seamen has ceased, and I believe them to be too generous to insult or offend an enemy who has submitted.

TO LADY COLLINGWOOD.

Ocean, off Cadiz, June 15, 1808.

I left a station which had almost worn me out with care, to be upon the spot where a great revolution was taking place in Spain, and to give my aid to it. Every body here was very glad to see me, both English and Spanish. The French at Toulon had heard, I believe, what was going on before we did; for suddenly they seemed to give up their preparations for sea, and moved several of their ships into an inner harbour. I left Admiral Thornborough to look after them, and came to see what good I could do here. The Spaniards seem determined to expel the French from their Country, and are carrying on their operations without those horrible scenes which disfigured and disgraced France in her revolution. They have declared themselves at peace with England; and four Commissioners are going to London, for the purpose of settling the relations of our Country and their's. We are doing every thing for them that we can. Yesterday we supplied them with gunpowder for their army; and their cause and ours are now the same. The French army under Dupont has advanced near to Seville, where the Spanish head-quarters

are. An army is marching from Grenada, to possess the Sierra Morena, which is a strong pass between Andalusia and Madrid; so that the French are likely to be surrounded on all sides, in a Country where they cannot be supported. Their squadron, which had moved up to that part of the harbour where they hoped they could be sustained by their army, after having been bombarded two days by the Spaniards, surrendered, and are now in their possession. They consult with us on every thing, and I do what is in my power for their aid and succour. When our Officers land at Cadiz, which they do every day, they are surrounded by multitudes, crying, "Vivan los Ingleses!" "Viva King George!" Every person wears a small red cloth cockade, with F. 7. embroidered on it. They say that Buonaparte has hitherto had only armies to contend with, but that now he has a nation, where every man is a soldier. I sincerely hope it may give a turn to affairs, and an example to other nations which have been oppressed, how, by a vigorous effort, they may recover their independence. Lord Algernon Percy came to see me the day after I arrived here. He is a very fine young man, and Bennet tells me that he makes an excellent sailor. A decision was lately given in my favour in the Court of Admiralty, on the claim of Sir J. Duckworth, Louis, and Cochrane, to share the St. Domingo prizes among themselves, and exclude me. They have appealed from the Judge's decree, which will keep it in law for two or three years more, and cost most of it; but they say the decree must be affirmed at last.

I have the kindest letters from the Duke of Clarence. I do not know him personally; but my brother Wilfred was intimate with his Royal Highness, and I believe he likes me for Wilfred's sake.

I am a poor lack-linen swain, with nothing but a few soldier's shirts, which I got at Gibraltar. All my own were left at Malta and

Palermo, and when I shall get them I know not ; but such wants give me little disquietude.

TO VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH.

Ocean, off Cadiz, June 17, 1808.

Your Lordship will probably have been informed, by my letters to the Admiralty, that on receiving intelligence from Sir Hew Dalrymple, when off Toulon, of the critical state of affairs in Spain, I left the squadron there under the orders of Vice-Admiral Thornborough, on the 1st June, and repaired to this point of my station, where I arrived on the 11th.

Upon the first removal of the Royal Family from Madrid, and when General Castanos and the Spanish leaders were yet doubtful of the temper of the people, and of the means which would be in their power for sustaining their Country, at some of the communications at the lines of Gibraltar, the surrender of the French ships to us was mentioned ; but when the people rose, as by a national impulse which they could not resist, they altered their tone, and declined every proposal for bringing either the fleet or the troops to Cadiz. The French Admiral, considering that the only chance of saving his fleet was to remove them far above the town, in hopes that a part of the French army might make its way down to the island of Leon, drew them up in the channel of the Caraccas. On the 8th and 9th they were bombarded ; and after a suspension of the attack for four days, on the morning of the 14th they struck their colours by signal from the Admiral, were taken possession of by the Spaniards, and now bear the Spanish flag. The spirit of resistance to the French tyranny, the abhorrence of the acts which have been practised against the Royal Family and the State, and the enthusiastic desire to restore the

country to its independence, were perhaps never surpassed. In no country, nor in any cause, was there ever greater unanimity, even in those parts (as near Madrid and Barcelona) where the French are in force. It is not necessary for the Ministers of Government to devise means to raise men, but rather to make regulations for restraining and selecting them.

The French are said to be exceedingly embarrassed by the want of communication with the different parts of their army, for every Frenchman found in the country is slain; and the Spanish peasants who are sent with letters, bring them to the magistrates.

The form of Government is very defective. The Juntas of the different provinces appear to be totally independent of each other; and, in the present condition of the country, correspondence is difficult. From Biscay they have not yet heard what is doing. In this state of things, I considered your Lordship's instructions of the 25th May carefully, and in the spirit of them informed the Spanish Chiefs here that it was His Majesty's command that every aid should be given them to repel the French, and enable them to maintain the independence of their Country; and that there might be no appearance of assuming a control over their measures, I desired them to point out how the British force upon the coast could be most useful to them. The proposal for the troops to land at or in the neighbourhood of Cadiz, had before been rejected; and from the officers who had been much on shore, I understood that there existed a visible suspicion that we had views particular to ourselves, and which had nothing to do with preserving their independence as a nation; and that their jealousy was less disguised as the number of troops off Cadiz increased. Major-General Spencer had been informed of this, and had acceded to

a proposal of theirs to go to Ayamonte, to be ready to act as circumstances and his information of the enemy's force might make necessary.

As soon as I received the first account of what was passing here, I opened a communication with Minorca. The Governor-General Vives had at the same time sent from Majorca to request that an officer might go thither, authorised to agree to such measures as the interests of both Countries required; and Captain Staines had been sent by Vice-Admiral Thornborough, with whom I left instructions to suspend hostilities, take every means to preserve the islands from the French, and keep the Spanish fleet in Port Mahon until farther instructions should be received. They had near 12,000 men in those islands; and I hear from Cadiz, that a large portion of them have passed over to Catalonia, to join the army there, under a convention made with Vice-Admiral Thornborough.

The Junta, in all its acts and expressions, describe the British nation as that on which they depend for support against the usurpation with which they are threatened. All the people of this part of Spain are obedient to their Government, and zealous in its cause. But I should inform your Lordship, that, from all the information I get, it is the populace that is the spirit which gives vigour to their measures; and if their Councils can keep this spirit alive, and direct it judiciously, all may be well. I have pointed out to the Government the necessity of an early communication with the provinces abroad, to explain to the people what events have passed in Spain, and what is doing. I was sorry to find them tardy in what appears so necessary, and can only account for it by the difficulty of carrying on correspondence in the country, and of coming to common resolutions in the several Juntas. The

subjects nearest home press first upon the consideration of all. The Council at Seville do not consider themselves authorised to give instructions without the concurrence of the whole.

I do not perceive that it will be necessary at present to make use of the authority which your Lordship has given me to draw for money for secret service. They will certainly require great supplies of powder and military stores, and want money for their troops; but it is probable that peace will soon be agreed to. The secret objects for which your Lordship thinks that this money might be applied, would then be no longer of any value; for fleets and individuals will all be involved in the contract which their nation will form, and be bound to co-operate with us. Some of the Juntas have already declared themselves at peace with England, and all have declared against France.

TO DON THOMAS DE MORLA.

Ocean, off Cadiz, June 18, 1808.

In reply to the letter which your Excellency has done me the honour to write, I beg to inform you that the vessel which, on her way from England to the West Indies, brought despatches to me, will sail as soon as possible this day. All your despatch-vessels, or a frigate, should the Spanish Government desire to send one with officers to the provinces in America, shall be provided by me with the necessary papers to protect them, and the quicksilver which is wanted for the immediate use of la Vera Cruz; but for the ships of the line, I should be glad if your Excellency would not make any request about them, until some arrangement be entered into by the British Government for establishing peace in all its relations.

Your Excellency's letter to the Marquess de la Romana shall be

carefully forwarded to England, and I have great expectation that the activity of the British Government will rescue his force from the power of the French.

I beg your Excellency will not apologise for giving me trouble. The more I can do for the Spanish nation in the present crisis, the greater will be my satisfaction.

TO LORD RADSTOCK.

Ocean, Gibraltar Bay, June 18, 1808.

I have received a letter from Captain Waldegrave, and, I must say, it has vexed me to find that he is appointed to command the Thames. I should have been delighted to have had him near me in a ship of durance; but this Thames came here from the West Indies with the copper off her bottom. In other respects, I believe she is an excellent ship, and nobody can sooner make her perfect than my friend. I have had the most fatiguing and the most mortifying cruise that ever any person experienced, in the pursuit of those Frenchmen. It has worn me very much; for I suffered an anxiety, of the pain of which only those can judge who have been in similar situations. My heart was bent on the destruction of that fleet; but I never got intelligence where they really were, until they were out of reach. They went to Corfu, where I still believe they had no intention to go, but were driven from their purpose, upon the coast of Italy, by a storm, and Corfu was their place of refuge. They did nothing there that I can learn. I know that success, or the want of it, is the scale on which all men's merits are measured, and that the French flying from one end of the Mediterranean to the other, will be imputed to great stupidity and want of judgment by those who

are not capable of forming a true estimate of circumstances ; and as they compose a large majority, the unfortunate, however great their exertion may have been, will suffer in the general opinion. Their escape was by chance ; for at one time we were very near them, without knowing it.

TO THE EARL OF MULGRAVE.

Ocean, off Cadiz, June 20, 1808.

I have not received any official despatch from Malta ; but by the Packet, I hear that the *Unité* has captured, off Venice, a very fine brig of war, mounting sixteen 32-pounders carronades. As the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty will probably order this brig, if upon her survey she be found fit, to be taken into the service, I beg to recommend to your Lordship the First Lieutenant of the *Unité*, Lieutenant J. Wilson, to command her. He is entirely unknown to me, except from character ; but Captain Campbell has so often had occasion to mention his skill and experience as an officer, and his devotion to the service, as having so much conduced to the high character which the *Unité* bears, that I am sure your Lordship will approve of my making his merits known to you.

TO ALI PACHA OF JOANNINA.

MOST EXCELLENT PACHA,

Ocean, off Cadiz, June 20, 1808.

I received the honour of your Highness's letter of April only two days since. My having left that part of my command, to attend to the affairs of Spain, prevented my receiving it sooner. I have already assured your Highness of my sincere desire

that peace may soon be established amongst us. You know that my Government took much pains last summer to settle it; but the artful intrigues of the French at Constantinople prevented the Ministers of the Sublime Porte from seeing their true interests. That is past; and I hope the proposal which has now come from your Government will be more successful: for peace with all Powers is what the British nation most desires; and if there were no Frenchmen in the world, I believe there would be no difficulty in it. In the mean time, we will endeavour to shew your Highness how much the Turks are esteemed, and how much we desire your friendship. I have given directions to the Captains of the ships stationed on your coast to give their best assistance to any operation which you may undertake against the enemy, and have requested that Sir Alexander Ball would permit your agents to purchase at Malta whatever arms or necessities of war you may want. Whenever peace is settled between our nations, I will do what is possible for your success in whatever you undertake. I hope it will be soon.

I wish your Highness health, and am, most excellent Pacha, your sincere friend.

TO VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH.

Ocean, off Cadiz, June 25, 1808.

Since the letter I had the honour to address your Lordship on the 19th, I have had applications from the Junta of Seville and from the Governor of Cadiz, by their direction, for supplies of cloth and horses, of which they are in the greatest want. In order to obtain the license for purchasing horses in Barbary, I shall send an officer to communicate with Slowey, the Emperor's Minister; and if he grants it, I have told them that the English

Government will be responsible for the payment, in such manner as shall then be agreed on.

By the accounts which come to me of the French army under Dupont, I understand that it is reduced to great extremity, surrounded on all quarters by the Spaniards, and disappointed in the expectation of being joined by a corps of about 4000 men, which had advanced from Algarve with that intention. On the 13th they retired from Carmona, to a station six leagues from Cordova. The Spanish army advanced, but their head-quarters is still at Utrera.

To-day intelligence is come here that the French have made a proposal to capitulate, if they may be allowed to pass into France unmolested, which the Spanish General has rejected: indeed, such is the temper of the people, and their resentment for the indignity done to them by carrying off their King, that nothing less than unconditional surrender will be accepted.

This day two Spanish vessels sailed; one for the Rio Plata, the other for la Vera Cruz, with despatches. Vessels which may be on their passage from America are still subject to capture, which may be the cause of much embarrassment, in the state of friendly intercourse in which we now are, as we shall be taking from them their merchant-ships, while we are giving them whatever is wanting to support the State. I have explained this to the Governor, that he may prevent the mistake into which traders might fall, by not waiting until his Majesty's Government shall order a suspension of hostilities; and I have recommended to him to send to the Canaries a despatch to prevent all vessels from sailing.

TO THE SAME.

Ocean, off Cadiz, June 29, 1808.

I have received a letter this morning from the President of the Junta, of such nature that it is necessary I should receive your Lordship's commands before I do any thing in consequence of it. I enclose Don Saavedra's letter, by which your Lordship will be informed of the intention of the Junta at Seville to invite the hereditary Prince of the two Sicilies to Spain, as Regent of the kingdom, to govern in the name of Ferdinand VII. I have thought this an extraordinary measure in the Junta to take without the concurrence or (as far as I know) the least communication with the other Councils assembled in the kingdom, and likely to create questions by the others of the right of Seville to name the Regent for the whole. Had the Prince of Sicily been a great military character, the state of the Country, which requires such a person to unite its efforts and conduct its affairs in the present crisis, might have pointed him out as a proper person to be placed at its head. Had he been distinguished for political knowledge, he might have given direction to the energies of the kingdom, and drawn the wisdom of the nation to his Councils; or had he been the next in succession after those of the Royal Family now captive in France, there would have existed some reason for the selection.

TO LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR JOHN STEWART.

Ocean, off Cadiz, June 29, 1808.

I believe the Sicilians have at all times been firmly attached to the English, and the commons would have gladly exerted themselves to keep off the enemy. They are equal to it,

if they were formed into regular bodies, properly equipped : but the Government is poor, the nobility dissipated and indifferent ; and until the levies were proposed under the Prince Butera, none took the least part in the defence of the country. Although these levies have not succeeded yet, I have no doubt they will in time : perhaps they were begun on too great a scale.

I do not know that there are many Sicilians disaffected to the Government, though there may be many disappointed with its languor, and who look to more activity as the means of ameliorating the condition of the whole. The representations that such amelioration could only be effected by the English, and the too frequent discussion of the subject, have, I believe, done much harm. It raised expectations in one class which had no foundation ; and in another caused doubts and suspicions of sinister schemes. The subject, I hope, is now very fully understood. There certainly is great room for the Government, by wholesome laws, the dissolution of monopolies, and a provident use of the revenue, to change the face of the country, and banish wretchedness from out of it : but this as certainly is the business of that Government, rather than of strangers.

TO THE EARL OF MULGRAVE.

Ocean, off Cadiz, June 30, 1808.

I had the most anxious time which I ever experienced, while in pursuit of the French squadron. I assure your Lordship that no pains were spared, both to get intelligence of their route and to pursue them ; but our information had always something to make the truth doubtful, and in missing them we were unfortunate. Admiral Martin, with the Spartiate, coming to join the squadron,

and the Antelope's convoy, must both have passed near that squadron of the enemy; yet they were not seen.

I do not know what account I ought to give your Lordship of the state of affairs here. The people, irritated to the greatest degree against the French, and full of resentment at being robbed of their King, are raised to enthusiasm, and would do any thing. Their Councils, maintaining the gravity of their national character, would let this ardour cool, and do nothing. Great allowance must be made for the mode of the present Government in Juntas, all independent, and, I am afraid, not having that correspondence with each other that is necessary to their general preservation. It was long before the Junta of Seville would send to the West Indies, though I continually urged the necessity of it. A few days since, a vessel sailed to Rio Plata; and as it was important to give the Spanish settlement a proof of the connexion of Britain with Spain, the Sabrina sloop carried out to the Carraccas and Carthagena some officers with despatches for those places. I have pointed out to the Council of Government the great probability of a French squadron going to the West Indies to aid in establishing Buonaparte's authority in those parts, where his emissaries may have found the best reception, and the necessity of keeping their ships prepared to protect the Colonies: but they have, however, moved several of them up the Puntal, and some are unrigging; and now I have represented to the Governor Morla, that, on any reverse of fortune in General Castaños's army, the French may march to where those ships are, and that neither the batteries nor the town would be able to give them any protection. General Castaños's army, at Cordova, consists of 23,000 men; Dupont's, at Anduxar, of (I believe) 12,000: the French expect a reinforcement; and

if Castaños does not fight them before it comes, it is not probable that he will do so afterward. This is the state in which I understand affairs to be at this moment.

TO VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH.

Ocean, off Cadiz, July 3, 1808.

I informed your Lordship, in my letter of the 28th past, that on the 27th, the convoy of transports and troops, which had sailed for Lisbon, returned to this anchorage. Major-General Spencer, having proceeded to the Tagus before the fleet, found a state of affairs there very different from what had been represented to Sir C. Cotton, and the French force so great at Lisbon and near it, as to preclude any hope of success in landing. The General therefore returned immediately; and, after consulting with the Governor of Cadiz, it was settled that all the troops should go into the port, and such number as convenient barracks could be provided for, should land at Port St. Mary, where the General proposes to wait until Sir Arthur Wellesley arrives with the reinforcement. What service will then be determined upon, I cannot tell; for the Spaniards seem equally averse to our holding any important garrison or taking the field with them.

On considering the probability of the French sending a squadron and troops to the Spanish Colonies, whenever they were informed by their agents of the point at which they were most likely to be well received, I intimated to the Officer who is residing at Seville, the proposal I intended to make to the Junta, on the subject of their fleet being prepared for service at sea, and joining His Majesty's squadron whenever the movements of the enemy should make it necessary. The moment they found that such a proposal would be

made, they ordered their ships to the upper part of the harbour; and have begun to dismantle them; and this removal of the ships was so sudden, that before my letter could arrive at Seville, they were gone up the Puntal. I enclose a copy of the letter of Manuel Gil, a member of the Junta, appointed to communicate with Major Cox on the subject, and Don Saavedra, the President of the Junta.

They state their want of funds to maintain their navy, as one reason for this extraordinary movement, so detrimental to their own security; but I do not believe this to be the true one, for the Junta have been told that His Majesty will sustain them in every measure which is necessary to their defence; and they have been invited freely to point out where the aids should be applied. Neither do I think it proceeded from any want of confidence in us; but that the Junta begin now to feel that they are not acknowledged as the Supreme Council of the nation—that their acts must be confined to the purposes of local defence—that their authority does not extend to matters beyond their district;—and as the disposition of the fleet is a national concern, they will not make themselves accountable at a future time for the application of it. They refer me to the Commander at Carthagena merely to evade the question here. I have, however, written to him.

Wherever the people have put themselves in action, they have proceeded to the end with a resolution and courage which shews a determination to free their Country from its invaders; and if this resolution be wanting any where, it is not in the common people. The army of Seville amounts to about 23,000 regulars, and as many peasantry as they please. The enthusiasm of the lower orders, if it were well directed, would clear the country of the enemy in a very

short time; and if it be allowed to subside, they will have nothing left but a mere Spanish army.

I informed your Lordship that, as horses were much wanted for the army, an application had been made to me, and that I had sent to the Emperor of Morocco for permission to purchase them. The officer has returned, and brought me a letter from the Minister Mohamed Ben Abdislam Slowey, the Emperor himself having marched into the interior, at the head of a great army, to quell an insurrection. I have no expectation of obtaining what I have asked: Slowey assured Captain Bullen that he would use his influence in our favour; but that, by their religion, horses were not to be sold to Christians, so that the purchase and payment were out of the question. There were, however, he observed, certain conditions which the Emperor would make known to me, and if these were acceded to, the Spaniards should not only have horses, but whatever his country produced, and they wanted. This was all he would say; but your Lordship will perceive that his object is Ceuta. If that fortress be given to him, he will grant in return whatever is asked;—without it, I doubt whether he will let them have a mule. In the present state of Spain, there is no power that can be called the National Government, and no authority to make a cession of any place; and this state of affairs must remain until there be established a Supreme Council, whose authority shall extend and be acknowledged over the kingdom.

TO THE EARL OF MULGRAVE.

Ocean, off Cadiz, July 11, 1808.

I have received the honour of your Lordship's letter, giving me such information as you had then received of the French squadron. The doubts which then existed have been since

cleared up, and my present consideration is, upon what scheme they may probably go next. Sicily is more secure than it has ever been, both from the increase of our forces, and the diminution of theirs in Italy. They have tried the disposition of the people in Majorca and Minorca, where their overtures have been rejected; and while our squadron is off Minorca, they cannot hope for success there. I have no doubt that the French have long since had their emissaries and agents in Spanish America, who will not only practise the usual artifices by which they have subverted so many Governments, but be provided with proper documents from their King and captive Statesmen at Bayonne; and it is probable that, whenever a report is made to Buonaparte of a district disposed to receive the French forces, the squadron of Toulon may go thither to establish his dominion. With this in my mind, I am carefully watching the Straits. The squadron is as complete as possible; and if they come this way, I shall hope to meet them, or failing in that, shall pursue them.

TO THE SAME.

Ocean, off Cadiz, July 12, 1808.

To-day I have received a letter from the Governor of Cadiz, enclosing one from the Supreme Council, in which they state, that the only reason for dismantling their ships was the want of money and stores to maintain them; but that, yielding to the arguments contained in my letter, they had resolved that all their ships should be fitted, and depended on the assistance of England to enable them to do so.

I am well satisfied with the stop put to dismantling their ships, until the affairs of their army are a little more advanced. To maintain their ships would be an immense expense. As the arsenals at Cadiz

are said to be empty, they will want a great quantity of stores from England, and with the little arrangement and want of skill in their officers, they will never be effective; but they were placing them in danger where they were going to put them, and that is now prevented. In all the southern provinces of Spain they are exceedingly importunate for supplies of arms, ammunition, and money to pay their forces. In the provinces of Valencia, Murcia, Arragon, and Catalonia, their armies are continually in motion, and always with success. Here, in Andalusia, General Castaños is perhaps more scientific, but more slow. His army lies before the enemy, but nothing is done. The castles of Figueras and Bellegarde, in Rousillon, are in possession of the Spaniards, and the French of that neighbouring province who have joined them. Barcelona is still occupied by a considerable force of the enemy, but the reinforcements which were on their way to join them have, for the most part, been destroyed; and the frigates which are stationed on the coast will do every thing that is practicable to prevent supplies coming from France. I wish much that two of the Spanish ships at Minorca would join one of ours, to sustain the frigates on that service, and will apply for them.

In all their requisitions, your Lordship will observe that they never mention men, whom they have in abundance. It is arms and money that they want. Indeed, they appear to me to be very averse from employing the troops which are here under General Spencer, and I feel convinced that they will not admit them into any garrison town of strength. From want of horses to draw their cannon, they have not advanced from Port St. Mary, and the Spanish General Morla does not appear to be very anxious that they should.

FROM THE EARL OF MULGRAVE.

Admiralty, July 12, 1808.

I have been prevented, not so much by the great pressure of Parliamentary business, and the considerable interval of time which would necessarily elapse before you could receive answers to your letters, as by my conviction that I could not add any suggestions to the judicious measures which you have uniformly taken, from replying more frequently to the very satisfactory and interesting communications which I received from time to time in your private letters. Your ready compliance with the request of the Junta of Seville for passports for their advice-boats to the Spanish Colonies, was strictly conformable to the wishes and views of His Majesty's Government, as were the facilities you propose to afford for the transport of Spanish troops from Ceuta and the Balearic Islands to Spain. Every ground of jealousy, and every appearance of distrust, should, as far as possible, be done away. It is highly important, in all communications with the Spaniards, that there should not appear any object on the part of Great Britain distinct from, much less disadvantageous to, the views and interests of the Spanish nation. No object can be of equal importance to this Country with the vigorous and persevering exertions of Spain, and that entire confidence in the zealous and disinterested aid of Great Britain, without which it is hardly to be hoped that the Spaniards will make such efforts as will be indispensably necessary to the successful conclusion of the great and interesting struggle in which that nation is engaged. I feel most highly gratified in considering that the establishment of that confidence, and the encouragement in their efforts, will depend so much upon the exertion of your Lordship's talents and zeal, and

shall be happy to hear that your health has not suffered from the anxious vigilance which you have had to exercise for so many months.

FROM MAHOMED BEN ABDESLAM SLOWEY,

THE MINISTER OF THE EMPEROR OF MOROCCO.

Tetuan, July 15, 1808.

To the Most High and Potent Admiral Collingwood, Commander
of the Sea.

The letter which you sent to be forwarded to His Imperial Majesty reached his royal presence, and he is aware of your demand. He is also very happy to see, that, in consequence of the friendship which exists between your nation and His Imperial Majesty, others avail themselves, through you, to mediate between us and them for their wants, which is a proof of the true friendship existing between His Imperial Majesty and you.

I am directed by His Imperial Majesty to answer you on the subject of your letter. You must know that your request is somewhat difficult for His Imperial Majesty to grant, as the Mussulmen will object to it, unless something be given as a recompense and in return for it; for it is sinful, according to our religion, and we cannot do it lawfully, except on the terms which I mention. Were it not sinful, His Imperial Majesty would have no difficulty in complying with your wishes; and you must be convinced, that nothing shall be wanting on my part to oblige you, as I know His Imperial Majesty's esteem towards you, and am always happy when I can be of service.

If you can rely on those who request this supply from you, and they will empower you to grant what you may require of them, then their request, through you, shall be granted without delay

or trouble, and Consul Green will inform you of the object which is to be the reward for yielding to their request. I am very sorry that we cannot comply with this thing, which is a sin in our religion. Were it lawful, there would be no objection. Any other thing in our power we will accede to with pleasure.

TO VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH.

Ocean, off Cadiz, July 15, 1808.

In every province of Spain, the demand for arms, muskets, pistols, &c. is incessantly and urgently made. I have directed that the ships on the coast to the eastward should supply them with such arms and ammunition as they can, and have written to Sir Alexander Ball, to ask 2000 muskets from the armory of Malta, and to the Governor of Majorca, that he will employ all the forges in the country to make pikes twelve feet long, for the peasantry of València and Catalonia. Cadiz at present has a body of militia of perhaps more than 2000 men; but its defence is given to the citizens, who are embodied to the number of 4 or 5000, and are training to arms with great zeal.

By a letter from General Castaños, of the 11th, at night, he was preparing to attack the enemy the next day. Some of his officers have been arrested, and sent to Seville. Major-General Vanissa de Pedro is one of them. In a former letter, I observed to your Lordship, that, from the best intelligence I can get, this war is supported entirely by the common people, who, instigated by the Clergy, are worked up to the highest degree of enthusiasm. They go from the drill to the priests, who, in every street, are preaching the duty of being firm in the defence of their Country, and there is no influence

so powerful in it. Amongst the higher orders there are many doubtful characters, but they dare not shew themselves.

I must inform your Lordship of a circumstance which has just come to my knowledge. The Marquess Solano,* the late Governor-General, whether from the conviction of the inability of Spain to resist the arms of France, or from his engagements to that people, convened a council of general officers at Cadiz just before his death. It consisted of nine persons, who (with the exception of one only) gave their opinion that no resistance should be made to the French. The person I have named, Nanissa de Pedro, was one of them, and there are others in Castaños's army. General Morla, who is now Governor-General of Andalusia, and directing every thing here, was of the number. With such doubts of the principles of those high in office, your Lordship will perceive that it requires a degree of delicacy to manage well with them; but we know the ground on which they stand, and good use may be made of it; for the people, I believe, have more confidence in the British than in their own leaders.

Your Lordship was pleased to authorise me to draw bills on His Majesty's Treasury for money which might be wanted. That necessity has not occurred; and the loans and supplies to the Spanish provinces will now be in a different form. As there will be numerous, and perhaps complicated accounts to be kept, and I have at this moment business which occupies every hour and every minute of the day, and am, moreover, very little conversant in money transactions, without the smallest experience in them, I beg to suggest to your Lordship, that a proper person should be appointed to manage the accounts, and

* The Marquess de la Solano had become Marquess of Solano and Socorro, by the death of his father.

be responsible for them. Such person might be put as much under my control as your Lordship may please, as to the distribution of money in stores.

TO ADMIRAL SIR CHARLES COTTON.

Ocean, off Cadiz, July 20, 1808.

On the receipt of your letter of the 13th, I immediately despatched one to Major-General Spencer; and as there does not appear any service for the troops here at present, nor even, without some extraordinary reverse of fortune to Castaños, will they be wanted in future, I concluded that the General would be impatient to proceed to Lisbon, where the service seemed to be urgent. He wrote to the Junta to inform them of his intention to proceed, unless they thought his presence necessary to the defence of the province. They referred the letter to General Castaños, who replied, that the Spanish army was quite competent to resist the enemy, and that the English troops were at liberty to proceed on other service. I think the Spaniards have a suspicion of our entertaining an idea of seizing upon Cadiz.

The views of our ministers, as they are explained to me, authorise no such measure; but, on the contrary, they look to our removing, by the most candid conduct, every suspicion of a hostile or even of an interested motive, beyond that of furthering the general interests of Spain and of mankind. What we have undertaken is to give them every aid to expel the French from among them, and to establish the government of an independent nation. The reward will arise from the friendly and advantageous intercourse that may hereafter be established. This is the view and object of our Court; and whatever tends to make an impression unlike to this should be

carefully avoided. It cannot be long before I shall hear from England, and supplies of money and arms come for them. That is what they want: they neither want nor wish for men.

The reports and statements which went from hence before I came, were founded on transactions passing in Cadiz while Solano lived, not upon the general principle which actuated the Country at large. The mass of people are counselled and directed by the priests, whose importance and wealth depend on the expulsion of the French. There are many of the higher orders who are not of the same sentiment, and would perhaps compound for a part of their property, rather than contend for the whole. I do not think the French will continue long in Portugal; the whole Country is opposed to them; and they have no communication either with France or Madrid.

If you can open a correspondence with Siniavin, I think it would have the effect of detaching him from the French; and if it did not, you might make him suspected by them, and cause a breach. If your ships in shore were to answer his signals with a Russian flag displayed, all he could say would not convince Junot that he has not communication with you. The last of the troops will be embarked by morning, and, I hope, sail to-morrow under the Bulwark.

FROM FATHER MANUEL GIL TO MAJOR COX.

Seville, July 20, 1808.

I transmit to you the following project against Morocco, which appears to have had its beginning during the administration of the Prince of the Peace, Don Manuel Godoy. Setting aside its morality or immorality, of which there are various opinions, it appears that this would not be the season to put it in execution; for much time has elapsed without any thing new presenting itself.

It is right that our two nations should accord; and for that reason the enclosed papers should be seen by Lord Collingwood and the Governor of Gibraltar, and we should know their mode of thinking thereon.

TO MAJOR COX.

Ocean, off Cadiz, July 21, 1808.

I have just received and read the papers which his Excellency the Padre Gil desired you to transmit to me from the Supreme Junta. I understand them to be instructions to the Governor of Melilla to give support to the rebellion of Ali Beck Abdallah against the Emperor of Morocco, in consequence of some wrongs which Spain had suffered, and which the Prince of the Peace intended to resent by fomenting the insurrection of Ali Beck. With such information as the papers afford, it is not possible to give any correct judgment of the particular case; but of the general principle I can state my ideas in a few words.

War is not a subject to be considered with levity;—it is not a subject in which the personal resentment of an individual should be allowed to have any weight;—and the person who makes an honourable peace for his Country is more its friend than he who adds to its splendour by many victories in a cause which was not of strict necessity.

Wrongs to a nation, whether of insult or injustice, are not justifiable causes of war until reparation have been demanded of the offending Government, and refused. Then, indeed, war is of necessity, to defend the honour or interest of a nation, and a great nation will not shrink from it, for it is glorious to be jealous of its honour—it is its duty to defend the interests of its subjects: but it is unworthy

of it to bear a fair appearance to a Government, and at the same time instigate the people to rebellion, or support them in it. Such a conduct, I conceive, must at all times be derogatory to the dignity of an honourable nation; although it may be reconcilable to the crooked policy of a Frenchman of the present day.

It is known to Spain whether wrongs have been done here by the Emperor or not; but I cannot form in my mind a case that would justify the mode of revenge which, from what I collect from the papers, was intended to be pursued. I think also that the Supreme Junta will be of opinion with me, that although the Emperor may not deserve any unlimited confidence, it is good policy at this time not to make him an inveterate enemy.

TO HIS CHILDREN.

Ocean, off Cadiz, July 23, 1808.

MY DEAREST SARAH AND MARY,

It gave me great pleasure to find, from your letters, that you were well, and, I hope, making good use of your time. It is at this period of your lives that you must lay the foundation of all knowledge, and of those manners and modes of thinking that distinguish gentlewomen from the Miss Nothings. A good woman has great and important duties to do in the world, and will always be in danger of doing them ill and without credit to herself, unless she have acquired knowledge. I have only to recommend to you not to pass too much of your time in trifling pursuits, or in reading books merely of amusement, which afford you no information, nor any thing that you can reflect upon afterwards, and feel that you have acquired what you did not know before.

Never do any thing that can denote an angry mind; for although

every body is born with a certain degree of passion, and from untoward circumstances will sometimes feel its operation, and be what they call "out of humour," yet a sensible man or woman will not allow it to be discovered. Check and restrain it; never make any determination until you find it has entirely subsided; and always avoid saying any thing that you may afterwards wish unsaid. I hope, Sarah, you continue to read geography. Whenever there are any particular events happening, examine the map and see where they took place. At Saragossa, in Arragon, the Spanish army was composed mostly of the peasantry of the country, and the priests (who take a great interest in this war,) were officers. The Bishop headed the army, and, with his sword in one hand and a cross in the other, fought very bravely, until he was shot in the arm. At Anduxar, a town upon the river Guadalquivir, the Spanish army fought a great battle, and entirely defeated the French. I hope that they will be driven entirely out of Spain very soon.—Do you study geometry? which I beg you will consider as quite a necessary branch of knowledge. It contains much that is useful, and a great deal that is entertaining, which you will daily discover as you grow older. Whenever I come home, we will never part again while we live; and, till then, and ever, I am, my dear good girls, your most affectionate father.

FROM THE MARQUESS DI CIRCELLO.

Palermo, July 25, 1808.

By the command of His Majesty the King, my master, I had the honour of addressing myself to your Lordship, and of notifying to your Excellency the determination taken by His Majesty to send his royal son, the Prince Leopold, to Gibraltar, of

which I pointed out the weighty motives. So convinced is the King of your condescension, that he does not hesitate to ask another favour which is next his heart. His Majesty requests, should circumstances require the Prince Leopold to land at any Spanish port, that your Lordship will be so good as to leave one of your ships to be stationed there for his protection. Your Lordship's zeal is too well known to the King, my master, to allow him to doubt your willingness to gratify his just wishes in this important affair, which may produce so much reciprocal benefit to both the allies ; and the King will with pleasure seize every occasion of acknowledging this service from so eminent a leader of the British forces.

TO DON THOMAS DE MORLA.

Ocean, July 28, 1808.

I beg to give your Excellency my best thanks for the detailed account which you were so good as to give me of the late glorious action at Baylen ; and I can assure your Excellency, that in all Spain there is no one who can feel more gratified and rejoiced than I do at all your successes. I congratulate you, Sir, in the name of my fleet and of the English nation.

The permission, however, for five or six thousand armed French soldiers to march to Cadiz and embark for Rochefort, seems to me to be so extraordinary, and so much more than they could have obtained, even from a victory, that I shall be glad if your Excellency will inform me what you understand on this subject. Every thing that can promote the interests of Spain I will cheerfully and speedily do ; but it will require instructions from England before I can allow so great a body of troops to pass to a new destination by sea. It is to be considered how large a fleet of merchant ships it will take to

transport them ; for if the Spanish ships of war were to go to Rochefort with the French capitulants, I doubt whether they would ever be allowed to depart from thence, except as French ships. As I have been disappointed in not having heard of the arrival of supplies from England for this part of Spain, I have taken it upon myself to raise 20,000*l.* sterling at Gibraltar, for the service of your Country, and I will draw bills for the amount on His Majesty's Treasury. I enclose passports for Admiral Rossily and the French Naval Officers who are to accompany him to France, in which I have directed, that on their being met by English vessels there may be observed to them that kindness to which misfortune is always entitled. I hope that on their arrival in France they will be received with the same regard ; but I am afraid of Buonaparte. With him, to be unfortunate is to be criminal.

TO CAPTAIN CLAVELL.

Ocean, off Cadiz, July 28, 1808.

I am much obliged to you for your kind letter, which would have given me much pleasure if you could have informed me that you were well : but take my advice, do not be anxious about employment at sea, or let any thing disturb your mind, until your health be firmly re-established ; and I doubt not that your youth and sound constitution will overcome your illness, and enable you some day to do your Country good service. You have ability to do it, and inclination, and it is your duty now to recover that health which has been injured by exertion beyond your natural strength. Your Commodore is working the gentry of the iron crown in the Adriatic ; and I dare say wishes you were with him, in a good frigate. The *Amphion* is gone up to second him ; and

I expect that they will keep that sea clear. I am very glad to hear that Lord Mulgrave gave you so favourable a reception. He was acquainted with your character, which is one that every body ought to respect. Get well and firm in health, avoid all long-shore employments, and I doubt not that you will find that station in your Country's service which will be advantageous to it and creditable to you.

TO

HIS EXCELLENCY MOHAMED BEN ABDESLAM SLOWEY,

GOVERNOR OF TETUAN, AND MINISTER OF THE EMPEROR OF MOROCCO.

July 30, 1808.

I have received the letter which your Excellency did me the honour to write by command of His Imperial Majesty, in reply to my request that horses, &c. might be purchased in Barbary for the use of the Spanish nation. This request was made by me in full confidence that the friendship which happily subsists between His Imperial Majesty and my King,—the intimate connexion between our Countries,—and the duty to mankind which all great sovereigns feel to rescue a gallant nation from the oppression with which it is threatened,—would have induced His Imperial Majesty to grant the request which I made. I am exceedingly sorry that such conditions are annexed to the compliance with it as I cannot even propose to the Spanish Government.

The Spanish nation, as your Excellency knows, was lately at war with England. We were at war because then they had attached themselves to a people who were using their power to oppress mankind, and, having no regard to justice or honour, were carrying misery and devastation into all countries. But the moment the Spaniards abandoned those pursuits, they became our friends, and the

arms and treasures of our State were offered to them to assist in establishing their independence, and the rank that so great a people ought to hold amongst nations.

The same sentiments of generosity which influence my King, I am sure are not wanting in the breast of His Imperial Majesty. Your Emperor was not at war with them,—the relations of friendship subsisted at all times with Spain,—and it was natural to suppose that they would have applied directly to His Imperial Majesty for the aid which they required; but their treasury has been exhausted by the frauds of the French,—they were unable to make payment for what they wanted, and therefore hoped to obtain it through me: I expected it from the magnanimity of your Prince, and that he would be glad to aid in humbling a nation which has grown proud in blood.

But there are other considerations which will have their weight with a wise prince, who looks forward to times to come. If the case should happen (which God prevent), that France should triumph, and ever possess the coasts opposite to Barbary, His Imperial Majesty will then be convinced how true a policy it would have been to have kept at a distance this turbulent people. Ceuta would in that case be a possession necessary to the security of his dominions: in the present instance, when in the hands of Spaniards, and with Spain in friendship with him, no danger can arise; and what is so likely to maintain friendship as acts of mutual benevolence?

I regret that granting to your neighbour this great good should be considered as in any degree militating against the tenets of your holy religion. I respect all those who are true to their faith. Mahomet was a wise and great lawgiver;—he knew how fallible and weak mankind were;—he knew how much they required the

assistance of each other;—and one of his commands to his people was, (and it is a sacred tenet in all religions), “To do good to all.” What greater good can His Imperial Majesty do than assist a loyal people in repelling an enemy who regards not the laws of God, and maintaining their existence as a nation?

I have troubled your Excellency with these observations, because your character for wisdom and benevolence is well known. You will perceive the advantages that will result to the world by giving to your neighbour all possible assistance. You will perceive that it is of much more importance to the happiness of Morocco to keep the French far from you, than it is to possess Ceuta. When I repeat to you that those aids which my Sovereign gives to Spain have no interested motives in view, you will see that it is impossible that I should make any proposal to their Government for the cession of Ceuta at this time; and I am sure you will perceive clearly, as I do, that “to do good” will always be acceptable to God.

I have only now to beg your Excellency will use your influence with the Emperor, that the wants of the Spaniards may be supplied.

I wish you health, and am your Excellency’s faithful friend.*

TO VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH.

Ocean, off Cadiz, July 25, 1808.

From the information which I have received from Captain Stewart, of the Seahorse, who is stationed in the Archipelago, I

* So great was Lord Collingwood’s economy of the public money, that the whole of his demand for extraordinary disbursements during the five years in which he held the command in the Mediterranean, amounted only to £54, in which were included the expense of a mission to Morocco on the subject of the horses mentioned above, the postage of letters, &c. &c.

believe that Mr. Adair will be cordially met by the Ministers of the Porte, as they have expressed an anxious desire that peace should be restored. On the subject of occupying an island in that sea, by having a garrison in it, I am really at a loss what to advise, and know not how to recommend any change which will make the islands more beneficial to us than they are at present.

Milo has a good harbour, and is well situated for a midway station: but in the summer months it is very difficult to get out of it; it has no fresh water, and a very noxious unhealthy air. There is said to be the same difficulty in getting out of the Bay of Suda, in the island of Candia, from the constant summer winds blowing from the north; and I doubt the Candians allowing a garrison to live in peace amongst them. At Paros, Scio, Mytilene, and Tenedos, are good anchorages; but Paros has the same difficulty of egress that Milo has. Scio and Mytilene are too populous to have any security by a small garrison. Tenedos is laid waste, but, as a station for a squadron, is good, because, lying in the way to Constantinople, it must always be a place of great resort. In the view I have of their utility, more advantage would be derived from them in the state in which they are, than if any of them were garrisoned. A small garrison could not protect itself in any of the large islands, and would exhaust the produce of the small ones. While at peace with the Turks, it does not seem necessary; and in a state of war, it would require a squadron to protect it. The Russians had a good castle at Tenedos; but when the Turkish fleet came out, Admiral Siniavin discovered that he must either continue in the road to protect his garrison, or by going to sea, subject it to capture; and he took the first opportunity to withdraw his men, and blow up the fort. From these considerations, I cannot but be of opinion, that more advantage may result from

their remaining under the Government of the Greeks. We have had a free intercourse with them during the war, and should be still better received in peace ; and this opinion I have given to Mr. Adair.

I have already informed your Lordship that the Spanish army, under the command of General Castaños, had, after two or three days' partial action, obliged that of Dupont to surrender as prisoners of war on the 20th. I understand it happened just at this time that the French General Bedel arrived, with 5000 men, to reinforce the French ; and finding his friends had surrendered, and were prisoners, he entered into a treaty, and was admitted to a capitulation, the terms of which I understand to be, that they surrender their arms until they arrive at the ports of this neighbourhood, as St. Lucar, St. Mary, and Cadiz, where they are to be embarked in Spanish vessels, and, at the expense of Spain, be sent to Rochefort.

This capitulation will doubtless appear to your Lordship an extraordinary one to be granted to 5000 men by an army of 30,000, to engage to send them to France in ships which they knew they had not, and allow them to take with them their arms, which Spain so much wants. The first report that came to me was, that they were to march to Cadiz with their arms, and embark there ; on which I wrote a note to General Morla. It is certainly an improvident agreement at last, and the longer they are performing it the better. When the French, by the surrender of Dupont, were reduced to a number not capable of doing harm, those which remained could not possibly have changed their position more advantageously for them than to Rochefort, from whence they may go to Biscay in a week. I have not seen the capitulation, nor have I heard that there are any conditions in it, either for the troops under the Marquess de Romana in the north, or those who were disarmed in Portugal, and are in prison there.

From the Supreme Junta I received a letter containing the two letters from General Castaños and the Count de Tilli. This latter nobleman is one of the Junta. Castaños's letter is addressed to the "Supreme Junta of Government," as they have been hitherto styled. Count de Tilli styles them "the Junta of Spain and of the Indies." I just remark this to your Lordship, because much has been said on the subject of the Supreme Council of Spain.

TO LADY COLLINGWOOD.

Ocean, off Cadiz, July 28, 1808.

I have just received your letter of the 25th June, out of the sea; for the Pickle Schooner, which brought it out with all the public despatches, ran on a reef of rocks in the night, and is entirely lost. The despatches, being on weighty subjects, I am afraid are all lost; your lighter letter was saved from the wreck with some others, and gave me the happiness of hearing that you were well. The Spaniards have been in great spirits since their victory; but they have rather marred the business by allowing the French to capitulate. I shall mend it for them as much as I can.

I am sorry to find my picture was not an agreeable surprise: I did not say any thing to you about it, because I would always guard you as much as I could against disappointment; but you see, with all my care, I sometimes fail. The painter was reckoned the most eminent in Sicily; but you expected to find me a smooth-skinned, clear-complexioned gentleman, such as I was when I left home, dressed in the newest taste, and like the fine people who live gay lives ashore. Alas! it is far otherwise with me. The painter was thought to have flattered me much: that lump under my chin was but the loose skin, from which the flesh has shrunk away; the

redness of my face was not, I assure you, the effect of wine, but of burning suns and boisterous winds; and my eyes, which were once dark and bright, are now faded and dim. The painter represented me as I am; not as I once was. It is time and toil that have worked the change, and not his want of skill. That the countenance is stern, will not be wondered at, when it is considered how many sad and anxious hours and how many heartaches I have. I shall be very glad when the war is over. If the other nations of Europe had resisted the French as the Spaniards have done, governments would not have been overturned nor countries despoiled. But Spain has had many favourable circumstances; they got rid of a weak court and licentious nobility. The invisible power that directs the present Government is the priesthood; the people are their instruments, whom they raise to an enthusiasm that makes them irresistible. Buonaparte has not merely the Spanish army to combat, (indeed the best of them are prisoners either in the north or at Lisbon,) but it is the Spanish nation which is opposed to him. Every peasant is a soldier, every hill a fortress. As soon as I have settled affairs here, which will be as soon as the supplies come from England, I shall proceed up the Mediterranean again, where I have much to do in many points. I hope I am working them pretty well at this moment, and that my ships are actively employed.

——— writes to me that her son's want of spirits is owing to the loss of his time when he was in England, which is a subject that need give her no concern, for if he takes no more pains in his profession than he has done, he will not be qualified for a lieutenant in sixteen years, and I should be very sorry to put the safety of a ship and the lives of the men into such hands. He is of no more use here as an officer than Bounce is, and not near so entertaining.

She writes as if she expected that he is to be a lieutenant as soon as he has served six years, but that is a mistaken fancy ; and the loss of his time is while he is at sea, not while he is on shore. He is living on the navy, and not serving in it. ——— too is applying to go home. If he goes he may stay ; for I have no notion of people making the service a mere convenience for themselves, as if it were a public establishment for loungers.

TO VISCOUNT CASLEREAGH.

Ocean, off Cadiz, July 29, 1808.

Without any observations of my own, I beg to mention to your Lordship the substance of a curious conversation which, as I know, passed between the General Castaños and Conde de Tilli, when, after the capitulations of the French, they discoursed on the future operations of the army.

The General advised that they should immediately advance towards Madrid, and, joining or co-operating with the troops of Gallicia, which he expected to find there, get possession of the Capital, when he should propose to the other Captains-General of Provinces to assemble the Cortes by deputies from the several Juntas, and form a Council of Government for Spain. In this project he was opposed by Conde de Tilli, who asked him, what then would become of us ? meaning himself and Castaños ; and on his part proposed that their care should be Andalusia and Portugal, and that, leaving the Spaniards beyond the Sierra Morena to take care of themselves, they should not embarrass themselves with Cortes or Princes.

It is, perhaps, in this view of future events, (which is supposed not to be peculiar to Conde de Tilli,) that the army is not moving to the north.

My letter of the 24th informed your Lordship of the capitulation of the French army. At that time I understood it to be Dupont's division only which was to be carried to France; but it now appears that all the French, amounting to about 16,000 men, are to go. Bedel's division keep their arms. I enclose to your Lordship a copy of the capitulation, which is in its nature, and from all I have heard of it, so extraordinary, that I cannot divest myself of the idea of a French trick, and that more is meant than yet appears.

The division of Dupont, 6 or 8000 men, were in circumstances in which they had no resource but an unconditional surrender. While this was discussing, Bedel, who was in the rear of all on the road to Madrid, with between 8 and 9000 men, sent an aid-de-camp to desire that he might be included in the treaty; but his situation altered the terms of it, and lengthened the discussion. He, in the meantime, under cover of the night, seized on a Spanish regiment, and retired several miles, where the Spaniards had little prospect of coming up with him. In this state of affairs the treaty was concluded, by which not only his division, but that of Dupont also, is to be conveyed to France. The French General knew as well as the Spanish that they had not the means of sending them by sea; and I think the probability is, that, having other views, they did not wish the treaty to be executed.

This treaty has caused much agitation. I understand, from the English Officer who resides at Seville, that the Junta disapprove of it entirely, although they do not think it proper to make such a declaration, and the people, thinking it impracticable, take little notice of it yet.

On application to me for assistance to enable them to perform this service, I have told them that all aid shall be given to fitting their transport ships out for their service; but as the conveying so

large a body of troops, with their arms, is a measure which may have in the end such important consequences, I cannot allow them to pass on the sea until I receive instructions from His Majesty's Ministers. This objection seems to give satisfaction, as it puts a stop to their going, without any breach of treaty on the part of the Spaniards. I have, moreover, observed that, as they have not the means of sending these people to Rochefort, the obligation ceases; for an engagement to do that which is impossible dissolves itself.

It was proposed that the Spanish army should go to Madrid; but that is deferred for the present, as it is found that they still want much arrangement with respect to their necessary equipage. In particular, canteens are wanting; for it seems when they were removed from the river they had not water to drink, which caused great distress.

FROM GENERAL MORLA.

Cadiz, August 1, 1808.

I have received the enclosed despatch from the Supreme Junta of Seville, respecting the letter which your Excellency was pleased to write to me; and your Excellency will see that the Supreme Junta is, like myself, animated with sentiments of hope and confidence in the British nation, and of admiration and gratitude to your Excellency.

FROM THE

SUPREME COUNCIL OF SEVILLE TO GENERAL MORLA.

Royal Palace of Alcazar, July 27, 1808.

This Supreme Council has read, with the utmost attention, your letter of the 4th, the copy of that addressed to your

Excellency by Lord Collingwood, dated on the 2d, and your Excellency's answer to it. Nothing has astonished them, as they foresaw the result, and expected no less from the generosity of the English nation, from her affection to Spain, and from the talents and penetration of the English Admiral, which they have seen displayed in the capacity with which he comprehends all our interests, and the foresight by which he would avert every danger. No Spaniard could have pleaded the interests of Spain with a warmer zeal than Lord Collingwood has done. Our gratitude to him will be eternal; and we wish his Excellency and the whole of the English nation to be persuaded of this truth.

To come to the points in question. Your Excellency, in yours of the 4th, has explained almost all our ideas, and the causes and necessities on which they are founded, and we will do no more than express them with more extension, and manifest to Lord Collingwood and Major-General Spencer our actual situation—what we conceive essential and in unison with the Spanish constitution—and what we so ardently desire. The first of all is our existence! The weakness of the late Government, and the horrible cunning of Napoleon, appear at first to have completed the ruin of Spain. The nation, notwithstanding, believes that she can and should exist, and for that purpose has made efforts more than she thought herself capable of. Spain is worthy of compassion, and deserves the assistance of all other nations, but particularly of the generous and the friends of humanity.

All the provinces of Spain have engaged in the struggle—the French have suffered defeats, but are disciplined—they are formed into armies—their Generals are renowned—and a doubt of the result, and precautions against a reverse of fortune, are, therefore, not only prudent, but necessary. The Andalusians, whose geographical

situation, and other causes, place them in the first rank, exact an incessant attention to this point, and it is our duty to pay it. Into this province entered the army of General Dupont, and the squadron of the enemy. We have made the latter surrender, and at the same moment we flew to meet the land forces of the French. But the expenses are immense. The provinces were drained by the former Government. Is it not a kind of miracle that we have hitherto procured the necessary funds for ourselves, without extending our aid to Portugal, Estremadura, and several other points which demand our attention? Alas! these expenses continue, and the entire existence of the nation, which is our first care, becomes endangered. For this we have implored subsidies from the English nation, and we expect them with confidence: the least detention may occasion us irreparable evil. We may die, it is true, with glory, and we will sacrifice ourselves for our Country; but when this sacrifice shall be consummated, what honour can result from it to the British nation, or to any other on earth? What advantages can be derived from Spain, destroyed by French barbarity and ambition? It is, therefore, our first interest, and we will be bold enough to say it is likewise the first interest of the English nation, to avert the destruction of Spain. It is their interest that their General and the Governor of Gibraltar should anticipate our wants as far as their situation empowers them, and co-operate with us in the first, the most important, and the most sacred of all necessities,—one which cannot but be evident to English penetration and policy,—the support of our hope in this our hard and exhausted state.

Your Excellency is acquainted with all this, and for that reason proposed to us to disarm the squadron, to which we consented with much grief. The misfortunes suffered by our navy demand a con-

trary measure: the whole monarchy and its colonies require an armada. In the present circumstances, the communication of some provinces with others, the assistance which they should mutually lend, and the preservation of the Americas, render the maintenance of one indispensable. To oppose it to the naval forces of France is also necessary. Hitherto the English nation hath fulfilled this last object with a glory of which there is no example: we know she will continue it; but Spain cannot, and should not, forget the particular interests that force her to co-operate in the same object as far as she can.

We breathed, therefore, when we observed the same ideas in the letter of Lord Collingwood, and the unexampled generosity with which the English nation offers to realise them, admitting, at the same time, that these expenses will not, in the least degree, diminish the subsidies which we have demanded, and which are necessary to our existence. Arm, then, our squadrons, Spanish as well as the French which have surrendered: let the arsenal of Gibraltar provide the necessary equipments, and transfer them to our arsenal in this island, where we have artificers in abundance. Let our ships be navigated by Spanish officers and crews; above all, let them be equipped immediately, and during the existence of the present circumstances. England will have the incomparable glory (one, perhaps, hitherto unknown in the world) of seeing a Spanish squadron on the seas at her expense. Europe will be filled with admiration, and France with terror, at this spectacle.

On the use of this force no doubt should exist between the English and Spaniards. If the naval forces of France shall render the union of our squadron, or of part of it, with the English necessary, our interest alone will be sufficient to induce this junction. If it

shall not be necessary, the English nation will see that our policy demands the application of this force to the immense extent of our Americas, and to the preservation and defence of our European provinces. It will be always employed in the common cause; and we may flatter ourselves, that the English nation will do us the justice of being persuaded that we are no less ardent in sustaining that cause than we are in soliciting this aid.

We have manifested our thoughts to your Excellency, who will communicate them to Lord Collingwood, and we have no doubt but they will produce the correspondent effect. God preserve your Excellency many years.

FRANCISCO DI SAAVEDRA, &c.

FROM ALI PACHA.

Joannina, August 2, 1808.

Your great judgment and profound knowledge of our affairs make me hope that you will not imagine that what has been done by Mustapha Pacha is agreeable to the will of the nation, or of its principal members. Among the rest, Ismael, Bey of Sarras, who thinks as I do, will set off in a few days, at the head of a strong force, to Adrianople, for the purpose of being present at what may take place. Many events will happen, and much blood be spilt, before the management of affairs will be left to Mustapha Pacha, who has been instigated to commit these acts by the insidious arts of our enemy. It is true that he at present holds the seals, but it is only by violence, and I make no doubt that affairs will soon assume a more pleasing aspect. For this reason it is necessary that there should be in my neighbourhood a sufficient naval force, of which the senior officer should receive full powers to concert and co-operate

with me in all that is necessary. Your Excellency is well aware that mankind at present seem unhappily urged on by the desire to subvert and desolate. I have proposed to your Government to provide against such disposition and its necessary effects; but it is beyond my ability alone, and I cannot counteract them unless support be afforded me. Your Government, which makes daily so many sacrifices, and sends, as we hear, ships and money to the Baltic, should not be disheartened. If it could do the same in this quarter, it would be served better than it may expect, and an opportunity would be afforded me of demonstrating with honour my anxious zeal and inclination towards it. Whatever may be the event of affairs in the capital, it is evident that I shall be the object of persecution; and as I have dedicated myself entirely to your nation, I hope that it will feel a pride in protecting me, and assisting me in such a manner as may enable me to defend my person and property, and accomplish those services which I feel the greatest inclination to render.

TO LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR HEW DALRYMPLE.

Ocean, off Cadiz, August 2, 1808.

With respect to the conspiracy of Ali Beck, it is, like other conspiracies, a very dark business. It is, moreover, an old affair, for the letter of the Prince of the Peace is written in 1805, and I wondered that the Junta should take the subject into their consideration at all, as it did not involve the security of Spain, and that appears to me at present to require all their time and all their wisdom. I am always doubtful of my judgment when it differs from yours; but I cannot think that any good would be derived from discovering to the Emperor that such a conspiracy had existed. There might be injustice in doing so; for this Ali Beck may have

been instigated to rebellion by the Spanish Court, and they could not impeach him without betraying their own treachery. As to obtaining the Emperor's favour by such discovery, I believe that it is too wavering and dependent on immediate occurrences to be fixed by the relation of a danger so long past. Besides, I do not think it likely that the Spaniards would gain much favour from him by the confession of a conspiracy in which their nation had taken, or were disposed to take, an active part.

The victory of General Castaños has caused, for the moment, great joy; but I cannot say that I see it in a view that makes it appear the subject of much exultation. It seems to be a departure from the principle on which a war like this should be carried on. No treaty should be made with an invader short of his unconditional surrender. They have made an arrangement which they cannot perform, and which, if they could, would be attended with the worst consequences to Spain. From all the information which I have of the subject, I consider it to be quite a French trick, and that they have obtained by art what they never could have won by the sword. Dupont was always said to have 12 or 14,000 men: in the capitulation, his division is found to be no more than 8000. Four thousand were said to be the reinforcement, and they turn out to be 6 or 7000. Is it not probable that part of Dupont's force went over to Bedel, that by this plan they might keep their arms? They probably knew then what is known to the Spaniards now, that there was no retreat for them upon Madrid. Had Dupont been compelled to surrender without terms, they could have been confined in twenty-four hours; and the Spanish army would have been at liberty to pursue their service. What is the case now? They have got the French army, who are entitled to their arms when they embark, and the Spanish army must

stay to take care of them. But their embarking is altogether out of the question: one objection is, that they have not ships to put them in; another, that the people will not permit them to embark; and a third, as I have informed the Governor, that I cannot permit so great a body of troops to pass on the sea until I receive instructions from England for that purpose. But the first objection is of such weight, that, if there were no other, matters must remain as they are.

TO VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH.

Ocean, off Cadiz, August 6, 1808.

I am very happy that His Majesty has been graciously pleased to approve my conduct in the several transactions which have occurred here. I have done all in my power to establish confidence in the Spaniards, and to give them every proof of the disinterested part which His Majesty takes in their affairs; and I believe they are perfectly assured that the British Government has no view but that of re-establishing them in their independence, nor looks to other advantages than such as will ultimately result from an alliance with a powerful nation. When I had doubts of the principles of certain persons in their Government, although it was proper that I should communicate them to your Lordship, there was nothing in my conduct that indicated the existence of such opinions.

I hope the supply of arms will be sent direct to Valencia and Catalonia, for their wants are urgent; and the security of Spain depends more upon Catalonia, from its geographical position, than upon any other province.

When the Moors would not allow horses to be supplied to Spain, I endeavoured to obtain mules, the sale of which is not restricted by their religion; but the Emperor, disappointed in his hopes of getting

Ceuta, will not allow them to have any thing; and as the French become further removed from him, he is less disposed to be gracious.

TO THE HON. MISS COLLINGWOOD.

MY DEAREST LITTLE SARAH,

August 12, 1808.

Mrs. ——— sent me lately some little observations which she had made on you and your dear sister, which gave me so much pleasure that I could not but return her my best thanks. Indeed every body speaks well of you, and I believe them, because you have yourselves promised me to be diligent, and I know you have too strict a regard to truth, and are too observant of your engagements, to be drawn from them by trifles.

When I come home, you and your sister must read a great deal to me, and as much of my reading is French, I hope you will be perfect in that language. As for the Spanish, it is very easy, and you will learn it in a very short time. My eyes are so old and so weak that you will have a great deal to do for me. I went on shore at Cadiz a few days ago, and you cannot conceive how rejoiced the people were to see me. I was received with all military honours; but, besides this, all the inhabitants, at least forty thousand men and women, came to welcome me. I would gladly have staid longer with them, but I could not, as I had to return to my ship at night. I went, however, to visit Madame Apodaca, whose husband is an Admiral, and one of the Deputies from the Supreme Junta of Seville to England, where they are gone to beg our Government will assist them in their war against the French. She is a genteel woman, about 35, which is reckoned tolerably old here, and has two very fine girls, her daughters. I wished much to visit some other ladies, to

whom I am in debt for civilities, but my time would not permit Tell dear Mary that I pray to God to bless her; and as I believe she is very good, I have no doubt that he will, and bless you too, my darling. Poor Bounce is growing very old. I once thought of having his picture taken, but he had the good fortune to escape that.

TO VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH.

Ocean, off Cadiz, August 14, 1808.

I received a letter from Sir Hew Dalrymple yesterday, to inform me that the Duke of Orleans, with Prince Leopold of Sicily, and a numerous suite, had arrived at Gibraltar, in His Majesty's ship the Thunderer, from Palermo. Their business, it appears, is to make some proposal to the Junta of Seville on the subject of a Regency. I was a good deal concerned at this intelligence, after my assurance to all the Juntas that the assistance which His Majesty had ordered to be given was purely to enable them to maintain the integrity and independence of Spain, and was unmixed with conditions affecting the Government; and I feared that the people would suspect that, under the guise of disinterested aid, we were introducing Princes to them for purposes distinct from our professions. I therefore wrote to the President of the Supreme Junta at Seville, and to the Governor-General of the Province, to announce to them that the arrival of those Princes at Gibraltar was entirely unexpected by the Governor and myself, and requested to be informed if their appearance in this quarter was in consequence of any correspondence which the Junta has had with the Court of Palermo. This I thought necessary to remove any suspicion of intrigue from the British Government. In the evening I learned that the Duke of Orleans was to proceed to England in the Thunderer, and that the

Prince of Sicily, with his suite, had landed at Gibraltar, until a ship should be appointed to convey His Royal Highness to Palermo again; but as I understand that Mr. St. Clair and others who formed the Queen's Councils in Sicily are the persons who composed His Royal Highness's retinue, I am not without apprehension that they will, from Gibraltar, make proposals to the Junta at Seville. If any inclination be shewn to accede to their proposals, it may produce discussions not favourable to the common cause with the other Juntas, whose sincere attachment to this is problematical.

I have this moment received a letter from General Morla, in reply to mine of yesterday, on the subject of the Princes. Captain Legge, who was charged with the delivery of my letter to the Governor, informs me that he appeared exceedingly embarrassed by their arrival,—that he could not understand how they could be brought thither in an English ship of war without the privity of the Court of London,—and that if they come to Cadiz, he will not allow them to land until he receives the instructions of the Junta. Mr. Drummond will no doubt explain to your Lordship the views of the Court of Palermo in sending this Prince to Gibraltar.

General Dupont and some French officers were brought to Port St. Mary's yesterday, for the purpose of embarking in one of the ships of war for their security. The mob attacked them, and took from them their baggage, in which was church plate and other valuable plunder. General Dupont was wounded in the head, and at last got off to a Spanish ship. I mention this circumstance to your Lordship, as it shews the intention of the people to pay no regard to the capitulation, but to oppose its execution, if the French troops are brought near the sea.

A number of Spanish vessels are said to have sailed from ports in

the Bay, with despatches from Joseph Buonaparte to the different colonies. The colours they sail under are Spanish, in which an eagle is substituted for the lion quartered in them.

TO THE MARQUESS DI CIRCELLO.

Ocean, off Cadiz, August 15, 1808.

I have received the honour of your letter, and your Excellency may trust, that in all things which relate to Prince Leopold's convenience and comfort, my inclination, as well as my duty, will lead me to be strictly attentive; and in the event of His Royal Highness passing into Spain, what His Majesty has desired shall be done, and a ship appointed to attend him. I am well satisfied, my Lord Marquess, that the King, my master, will approve of every step which may advance the interests or add to the convenience of any branch of the Royal Family of the two Sicilies.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Orleans, whom I have had the pleasure of seeing, informed me of the purpose for which Prince Leopold had taken this voyage, and His Highness was so well satisfied that, in the present state of affairs in Spain, there neither exists a power to which Prince Leopold can address himself, nor which can, with any advantage to the future settlement of the Government, address the Prince, that His Highness has proceeded to England to confer with His Majesty's Ministers. It has been a principle observed by the British Government, and the orders given to their officers are founded upon it, that every possible aid be given to the loyal Spaniards in the glorious contest in which they are engaged with the invaders of their Country. Men, money, arms,—whatever succour they may want, and Britain can produce, are offered to them. It is given with a free and liberal hand, that they may be enabled to

establish their King and maintain their independence ; but whatever has the appearance of interfering with their Government, or the temporary modes of administration which circumstances may make it necessary to adopt, has been strictly avoided.

Your Excellency knows that there is not in Spain any supreme head which has authority over the kingdom at large, the provinces having hitherto been governed by the Supreme Juntas. It is proposed that a General Council shall be formed, to have authority over the whole ; but until such Council be established, it is difficult to determine where a foreign power should address itself as to the organ of the Spanish nation. I am not a politician. Your Excellency may well believe that the habits of my profession unfit me for studies so abstruse ; but I think your Excellency will perceive all the consequences that must be the effect of proposals to any body of men having merely a local authority.

I have swerved from the subject which I proposed for my letter. It was merely to assure you, Sir, of the careful regard which I shall pay to every thing that is connected with the interests or happiness of the Prince, and of the pleasure which I shall always have in complying with His Majesty's commands.

A very great number of letters were at this time addressed to Lord Collingwood from Spaniards of all classes. Among them was one from Don Pedro Ripolle, the Curate of Beniva, in Valencia, in which he descanted at much length on the legality of the Spanish resistance to Joseph Buonaparte, and supported his arguments by various extracts from the works of Grotius and Vattel. The following is Lord Collingwood's answer.

TO DON PEDRO RIPOLLE.

August 14, 1808.

The right of making war belongs only, it is true, to the Sovereign ; but if, by taking the Spanish Princes out of the country, Buonaparte thought that he had dissolved the only power which could lawfully oppose him, he was mistaken ; for on the removal of the Princes, the sovereign power reverted to the source from which it sprung—the people ; and the act of their delegates is legitimate sovereignty. The justice and necessity of the war in which Spain is engaged with the French are so obvious, that there can be no need of referring to the opinions of learned civilians for its support. When the rights of a nation are threatened, and its territory insidiously invaded by an army professing friendship, but pursuing a conduct which manifests a design to seize upon the Government, it becomes the imperious duty of the Sovereign to resist by arms. But when the Prince himself, who is the organ of the nation's sovereignty, is seized, and induced, while in captivity, to sign renunciations and abdications, it would be ridiculous to suppose that such instruments could have any validity. Your King was under circumstances in which he could not exercise a free will ; but even if it had been otherwise, the case with respect to Spain would not have been altered. The Prince may retire from the Government, but no public law or constitution in Europe can give him the right to transfer the people to another Sovereign ; for they are not his property, but he was their King. He was the King of the Spanish nation ; and when he is removed from them by fraud, his authority can only devolve to a Council of State, which shall represent the nation at large, and have a sovereign power over all its members. The Junta of a province,

though of the first necessity for the immediate defence of such province, and for preventing that anarchy which must arise in the absence of all Government, can, as I conceive, be considered as a legitimate authority for no longer a time than is necessary for the assembling of a General Council. For one part of Spain to make laws and regulations for the rest, which is not subject to it, and over which it has no control, would be as absolute a dissolution of the Government as the enemy could cause by any partial conquest which he may achieve.

Spain is a monarchy in which hereditary succession is established; and if the King and the Princes next in succession to the throne be in captivity and unable to govern, that is no reason for change in the form of Government for a longer time than is necessary to call to the Regency the Prince who shall be chosen, or is next in succession to the captives. The nation is only in the state in which it would be during infancy or other incapacity of the Sovereign. It becomes a great nation to restore, without delay, the form and spirit of its Government. When they have such an enemy to contend with, it is necessary that the unity of the State, which constitutes its strength, should be as little interrupted as possible: it is necessary for its communication with Foreign Powers; and it is, above all things, necessary for the direction and concert of its own forces, which can never act in co-operation but when the whole is directed by one power.

TO LORD RADSTOCK.

Ocean, off Cadiz, August 15, 1808.

I am much obliged to you for your kind and friendly letter, and for the true interest which you take in my affairs.

No person can devote himself more to them than I have done, and do. The power that God has given me I exercise to the utmost: for that I am accountable,—beyond that I am not. When I look back, I have nothing for which to reprove myself: but it is a matter of curiosity to observe how much things depend upon what we call chance. The Standard arrived at Syracuse on the very evening that we sailed in the morning; or, instead of going off to Maritimo, I should probably have gone to Corfu with my few ships. I am here engaged in a service of great delicacy and very high importance. The Spanish people are making the most glorious efforts to expel the enemy from their Country; but I am afraid their Juntas, by their cabals and contentions for superiority, will cause an anarchy that will be more dangerous to their Country than the French. There is no combination of their force, and the Provincial Governments appear to me to keep as much aloof from each other as possible, lest they should be thought to concede any part of their authority. The Junta of Seville assumed powers and titles that gave great offence to the others, and caused dangerous discussions; but they seem now to have retracted them. To the eastward, they are in great want of cannon. Here is their foundery, and they have the most abundant store; yet they will not send them any. I have told them a ship of war shall carry the guns, and the Governor replies, that they are an ingenious people, and have abundance of resources. In a word, there never was a nation more disjointed, and I consider its safety as very doubtful. If they do not constitute one sole Government, which will combine the powers of the Country, it will be lost. These subjects, and my cares for them, are wearing me to death; but much that I see in the world reconciles me to its approach, whenever it shall please God. If men were honest and just, all difficulties would be overcome; but of those very people

who are conducting the defence of their Country, one scarcely knows whom to trust. I am anxious to go up aloft again, where I hope something good may offer. I expect we are doing something in Italy ; but there is no stuff to work upon there,—the people are licentious, the nobles unprincipled, and all without those qualities that can give them importance in any circumstances of difficulty or danger. It is a superior army alone that can effect any change, or maintain it. Dupont has at last got a safe retreat in St. Sebastian light-house, or the fort near it. So enraged are the populace against the French, that they could only be removed into the town during the night.

TO LADY COLLINGWOOD.

Ocean, off Cadiz, August 15, 1808.

I have received your letter on my portrait ; but I think, when you see the original poor creature, you will be reconciled to the picture. I have laboured past my strength. I have told Lord Mulgrave so, and I hope they will think of relieving me, that I may come and enjoy the comforts of my own blessed family again, and get out of the bustle of the world and of affairs which are too weighty for me. God bless me ! how rejoiced will my poor heart be when I see you all again. Last week I went ashore to Cadiz, and was received with great acclamations. The volunteers, who are gentlemen of the city, were turned out to receive me, and all the officers of the district were assembled. The cavalry cleared the streets for us to pass through. About 40,000 people assembled to welcome me, and the whole city resounded with the cry of “ Viva King George ! ” “ Viva Collingwood ! ” I was much pressed to stay on shore ; but when people have a great deal to do, short visits are more suitable than long ones. After

a visit of three hours, and a collation at the Governor's, I returned to my ship.

I have another great puzzle come to me. The Queen of Sicily has sent her son, Prince Leopold, to Gibraltar, to propose himself to be Regent of Spain. It appears to me to be extreme want of knowledge of the state of Spain. If it had not been a Queen that did it, I should have called it folly; but as Sidi Mahomet Slowey, when telling me in his letter what the Emperor had determined to do, says, "You know Emperors and Kings are a great deal wiser than other people," I suppose the rule applies equally well to Queens. The Duke of Orleans came down with him; and the day before yesterday I discussed the subject fully with His Highness, much to his satisfaction, and he went off to England with a light heart.

The Duke professed to be much taken with me, though I had to argue against his object, and to put him from his purpose. He said, when we parted, that he should never forget the day that made him acquainted with me. The service is become very arduous. I cannot tell you all about it in a letter; but some long winter's evening I will give you the whole history.

TO VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH.

Ocean, off Cadiz, August 16, 1808.

General Castanos meant himself to go to Madrid, where he hoped to meet Cuesta and the General of the Valencian army, and with them settle some plan of general operation, which becomes hourly more necessary. I hope they will also propose some General Government for the Country;—without it, anarchy and dissension must inevitably take place.

I am informed, that after the capitulation of the French on the 20th ult., on some assumption of power by the Junta of Seville, that of Grenada refused to acknowledge their authority; and on its being debated in what manner those of Seville should assert their right of supremacy, it was determined, by a majority, that the army of Andalusia should be sent to reduce them to obedience.

General Castaños, who was present at the debate (though he was not a member of the Junta), came forward and declared, " That he " had heard with grief and astonishment their debate and resolve. " He observed, that he commanded the army they alluded to, and " begged to set them right in one point, that it was not the army " of Andalusia, but part of the military force of Spain, assembled " for the purpose of expelling the invaders from their Country; and " while he commanded it, it should not be employed against the " loyal subjects of the King, or for carrying on a civil war of one " province against another." Before this circumstance, it was stated currently that the army of Andalusia was not to pass the mountains. Since, in a letter which I have received from the President, the Junta is called, " The Supreme Junta of Government," Spain and the Indies being left out.

TO THE SAME.

Ocean, off Cadiz, August 16, 1808.

I have just received a letter from Don Francisco de Saavedra, the President of the Supreme Junta of Seville, to inform me that they knew nothing of the coming of Prince Leopold to this quarter until the letters from Gibraltar mentioned his arrival.

I am not informed of what His Royal Highness proposes,—whether it be to remain at Gibraltar and wait the answers to the letters

which he may have sent to England, or to return to Sicily; but I am quite assured that his presence at Gibraltar will not promote their views. They left Palermo without any knowledge of the state of Spain; for several of the nobles who attend His Royal Highness are French, and there is no Government here which can give protection to any Frenchman from the insult of the populace.

When the Duke of Orleans came here on Sunday, in the Thunderer, I waited on him. His Highness expressed a great desire to stay here, with a view of giving his support to the claims of the Prince Leopold, whatever they were; but I informed him that my orders from His Majesty's Ministers were to give every assistance to the Spanish people to defend their Country and maintain their independence as a nation; that there were no stipulations respecting their Government, or the mode in which they might conduct their affairs, which were left entirely to their own wisdom and energy; that I understood that the Junta had no correspondence with any other nation than England; and that His Royal Highness would perceive the impossibility of any propositions going to Spain from the ships or from the garrison, until it was directed by His Majesty's Government. I observed to His Royal Highness that, had the case been otherwise, and had His Majesty sanctioned the measures proposed, there did not appear to me to be any power in Spain at this moment to which Prince Leopold could address himself. Would he make his proposals to a Provincial Junta? The proceedings of a particular Junta might not be approved by the rest, and thence discussions would arise to the prejudice of the cause which he meant to support. If His Royal Highness addressed the people at large, he opposed the constituted authorities. And even had there been one sole Council of Spain, the acknowledged organ of the nation, I presumed to give

His Royal Highness my opinion, that any proposal which His Sicilian Majesty had to make to Spain in behalf of himself and his rights, would have gone to such Council with more importance and more dignity from his Court at Palermo than by the mode which they have taken. This reasoning seemed to satisfy the Duke that nothing could be done at this moment; and he resolved to return to England and refer himself to His Majesty's Ministers on the subject.

I enclose to your Lordship a letter which I have received from the Dey of Algiers, complaining of the conduct of the Malta privateers in not respecting his flag and passports. It is to indemnify himself for his losses that he is sending his cruisers to the Coast of Sicily. Their success has encouraged the Emperor of Morocco to send his ships, which have lately been fitted, to the same quarter; so that these subjects of contention beget evils which are likely to be very injurious to Sicily, and to keep us in continual discussion or explanation with the States of Africa. I have observed nothing in the conduct of the Dey but what is temperate, and indicating a desire to preserve harmony; and I think it would be advantageous to the general interests, if the same disposition were more manifest in the Admiralty Court at Malta.

FROM VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH.

Downing Street, August 19, 1808.

Your Lordship's several despatches have been received and laid before the King. I am to convey to your Lordship His Majesty's entire approbation of your Lordship's remarks upon the communication made by the Junta of Seville of the designs of the Prince of Peace against Morocco—of the sentiments you have expressed to Sir John Stuart—of your instructions to Rear-Admiral

Thornborough — and of your decision respecting the loan of 20,000% which you have advanced to the Spanish Government.

The peculiar circumstances of Spain, under a change of affairs so total and so unexpected, have naturally produced events of the most important as well as curious nature. I am, therefore, to express the satisfaction which His Majesty's Ministers feel from your descending to minute particulars and anecdotes, which throw much light upon the state of the public mind, and give great assistance to His Majesty's Government in forming their opinions; and I trust that your Lordship will not discontinue communications of so interesting a nature.

TO VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH.

Ocean, off Cadiz, Aug. 21, 1808.

I had yesterday a long conversation with General Morla on the state of affairs in Spain, on which he spoke his sentiments very freely, and convinced me that his opinion of the condition of the country, and of the persons who conduct the government in this part of it, nearly corresponds with what I had before heard, and communicated to your Lordship.

He observed, that the Juntas were found to be totally unequal to the government;—that they were men, for the most part, unused to public business, and many of them of such a character that, but for circumstances like the present, they could never have been engaged in it;—but they had tasted of power, and though every day's experience proved their unfitness, their ambition was gratified, and they resisted any proposal that was likely to put a period to it;—that the best hope of the country was in a general Council of the kingdom, which might form a Regency, or some regular administration of all the

departments;—that at present all was anarchy, and that every day threatened contentions which might have disastrous consequences. All the Juntas seemed to confess the necessity of a Council whose authority should embrace the kingdom, and made proposals, and offered plans, for the purpose; yet no progress was made in what was so desirable: and it was his opinion that they never would get any farther in it until England should send a Minister to Spain, who might suggest to them some mode of proceeding by which they could attain what they all professed to desire.

I told him that I heard a Minister had been nominated; but it appeared to me to be a matter of considerable difficulty to determine to what part of Spain, divided as it now was, such Minister could be sent without risking jealousies in the provinces; and this, for aught I knew, might be the reason why none had yet arrived. He admitted the difficulty, yet thought that a Minister might be sent to Spain without being resident with any Junta, but in a town, as at Cadiz, from whence he could communicate with them all. The Spaniards had confidence in His Majesty's friendship towards them, and knew that it was the interest of England that they should prevail against France, and establish their independence of her; and any proposal which was made for this purpose he thought would be well received by the people at large, and might be the means of establishing what he despaired of without such assistance. He quoted what had happened in Leon as a proof of the necessity of speedily getting the better of this provincial independence. The Gallician army had refused to join General Cuesta, and had fallen back towards their own province, which obliged Cuesta to retire from the French. I believe he might have given an instance of difference of opinion in the provinces nearer home.

I am at present very anxious to hear from Portugal, before I go up the Mediterranean, which I propose doing immediately, leaving Rear-Admiral Purvis here with a few ships, to cruise off the coast to protect the trade, and prevent the French prisoners from being sent away, until the instructions of His Majesty's Government be received on that head. I have reason to believe that allowing them to depart would make this province very unpopular in Spain, and that my interference to stop them has given universal satisfaction.

The Catalonians have been supplied with such small arms and ammunition as the ships could spare, but they are still in extreme want of those articles. General Morla promised yesterday to send them twelve small field pieces, for which I shall, if possible, fit carriages on board my ship, while on the passage up the Mediterranean, and convey them to that province.

TO LADY COLLINGWOOD.

Ocean, off Cadiz, August 25, 1808.

I am not ill, but weak and nervous, and shall think seriously of going home, for the service I am on requires more strength of body and mind than I have left me in my old age; and in future I shall think only of my comforts, and how best I can make every body about me comfortable and happy. I have been several times on shore; and whenever I went was received with a kindness by every body that was quite delightful. On Tuesday last the Governor gave us a most magnificent entertainment. There were not many people, but all of the first rank. I would gladly have had him on board my ship, but I could not go into the port, and it was too far for him to come off. We went to an opera, which, on the

occasion, was in gala. Nothing could be more gratifying than our reception there. The audience clapped for a quarter of an hour when we went into the Governor's box, and every mark of attention that was possible was paid to us.

I can only say, on the subject of ———'s letter, that in the first place it is entirely a mistake to desire to send their son with me, for mine is the only ship in which no attention is paid to the youths. I have so little time to give to them, that I seldom see any of them, and do not know the names of three midshipmen in the ship. In the next place, he is a great deal too young. He cannot be educated so early for an officer; and there is nobody here to teach him. And thirdly and lastly, I shall go home as soon as I can, and never after have any thing to do with ships. I would recommend them to send him to a good mathematical school, and teach him to be perfect in French and Spanish, or Italian; and if he spend two years in hard study, he will be better qualified at the end than if he came here. If parents were to see how many of their chickens go to ruin by being sent too early abroad, they would not be so anxious about it. God bless you.

TO THE HON. WM. WELLESLEY POLE.

Ocean, August 26, 1808.

I beg to represent to you that I have been for some time past in a very weak state of health, which I believe may be attributed to the long time I have been at sea, with little intermission; and as the service at this time requires all the strength and spirits that can be applied to it, I would beg that you would lay my request before their Lordships, that they will please to relieve me from

service for such time as will be necessary to restore my health and strength in England.

I feel great repugnance in making this application to quit my station; but I hope their Lordships will be satisfied that it proceeds from the same sense of public duty which made me formerly desire to serve.

TO THE EARL OF MULGRAVE.

Ocean, August 26, 1808.

As my strength and health are very much impaired, and as I attribute it in some measure to the long time I have been at sea, and to the anxiety of mind which I continually feel for the service, I have very reluctantly written to the Admiralty to pray that their Lordships will be pleased to relieve me. But sentiments of public duty demanded this from me, and at every period of my life the public service has been paramount to all personal considerations. When I am recalled, it would be a great satisfaction to me if your Lordship would promote one or two of my lieutenants. They are respectable officers, and will be creditable and useful to the service. Your Lordship knows how little opportunity I have had of serving them: most of them have been with me near three years, and the only one whom I have advanced, Captain Clavell, was made on the death of Captain Secombe.

The affairs of Spain in this quarter being as much composed as they can be until a general Government for the country be formed, I am proceeding up to Toulon, to join the fleet, and see what can be done in Italy. The eastern provinces of Spain require great attention, and all the assistance that can be given them; for the French continue to advance their forces by that entrance, and the Spaniards

possess no regular appointed army that can reduce Figueras, and I am afraid they will not have one until they have a Government. We have given them all the arms that can be collected, but they are still much in want.

FROM THE EARL OF MULGRAVE.

Admiralty, September 6, 1808.

Your letter of the 2d August (which has been long on its way) serves to confirm all the opinions which are entertained here respecting the affairs of Spain. Upon hearing of the nature of the capitulation with Dupont, I thought it expedient to suspend (to such extent as you should think necessary) the recall of ships from the fleet under your command, as well on account of the necessity of having a naval force sufficient to support the principle which you had so justly stated, of the impossibility of suffering so large an armed French force to pass the sea, as to prevent any part of that force going in ships of war which might be detained in a French port, and equipped to act against this Country. The consideration of the exigencies of the service, and the object of economy in the relief and repair of such ships as may require to be sent home with that view, cannot be better provided for than by the full discretionary instructions which the change of circumstances has induced this Board to send out to you.

I read with great uneasiness and regret the concluding part of your letter, in which you express some doubts of the continuance of your health to the end of the war, and I earnestly hope that the service of the Country will not suffer the serious inconvenience of your finding it necessary to suspend the exertion of your zeal and talents. It is a justice which I owe to you and to the Country, to

tell you candidly, that I know not how I should be able to supply all that would be lost to the service of the Country, and to the general interests of Europe, by your absence from the Mediterranean. I trust you will not find the necessity, and without it the whole tenour of your conduct is a security that you will not feel the inclination, to quit your command while the interests of your Country can be so essentially promoted by your continuing to hold it.

TO LADY COLLINGWOOD.

Ocean, off Toulon, September 20, 1808.

I am returned to watch the French in this port ; but it is impossible to devise or form the smallest judgment of what they will do, or what project they may have in view ; so that all I can do is to watch them on this stormy coast. Since I have been here, we have only had two days of weather in which boats could pass from ship to ship ; and so you may judge with how little effect this service can be done. It is not practicable, but this the people on shore cannot comprehend ; and I fear in the perseverance both ships and men will be worn out. I will do what is possible. It would be a great relief to get hold of them before the winter be advanced. I told you I had written to the Admiralty to request that I might come to England, having very much failed in my health, and being fit only at present for a life of quiet. I hope Smith will stay with me when I go on shore, for he is quiet and well educated, and suits me very well. I have not had occasion to find fault with him these four years ; indeed never.

I am endeavouring to make commotions in Italy against the French ; but the people there are enervated by their licentious

manners. They have not the Spanish spirit; indeed in Spain it is more in the common people than in the superior orders.

I wish ——— were on shore. As to his being an officer, it seems entirely out of the question. That would be sporting with men's lives indeed.

TO THE VIZIER ALI PACHA OF ALBANIA.

MOST EXCELLENT PACHA,

Ocean, off Toulon, September 22, 1808.

I have, on my arrival off Toulon, received the honour of your Highness's letter of the 6th August, and learned with great concern those melancholy events which have lately taken place at Constantinople, because they seem to indicate a return of the French influence with the party which proceeded to such violent measures — measures which can only produce disorder and anarchy, and which are never necessary to the support of legitimate power. That Mustapha Pacha Bairacter should have suffered himself to be seduced by the artifices of the French and Russians, who are the enemies of his Country, is much to be lamented. Whatever views of personal aggrandizement he may have in this act of treachery to his Sovereign and his Country, he will never accomplish them, because the very act shews him to be a man who does not possess a mind informed of the real state of the nations of Europe, or a head capable of foreseeing the result of his own deeds. He should have known that every European state is anxious to give to mankind that peace which ought to subsist among wise nations; that the harmony of the world was first destroyed by the convulsions which happened in France; and that the restoration of it is prevented by the ambitious projects of one man, who, being unhappily possessed of extraordinary

talents, turns them to abuse, and, for the aggrandizement of himself and his family, makes France to groan beneath his tyranny, and would hold all Europe in disgraceful bondage. England has ever had a perfect view of the dire consequences which must result from the establishment of such a power, and has uniformly opposed it. This, too, was the duty of all Sovereigns, for they are the guardians of their people's happiness, and ought to have resisted those whose object was to destroy it. What, then, can Mustapha Pacha and his party propose to themselves by an attachment to France? Would they increase the power of France? France is, unhappily, possessed of power but to abuse it. Do they expect advantages to be obtained for Turkey? Let them cast their eyes round Europe, and behold the wretchedness of those miserable States which have entertained the fantastical idea that good was to be derived from such a character as the present ruler of the French. Before I received your Highness's letter, detailing these affairs, I suspected, from the frigates sailing from the Dardanelles, that some change had taken place at Constantinople. I had communicated the sentiments of my Government to the Capitan Pacha, who knew our sincere desire for an honourable peace, and I had requested that he would prevent any circumstance which might interrupt it, by keeping his ships within the Dardanelles until the Ministers had concluded the treaty. We did not seek these ships, but they came to seek us. We are at war, and the consequences were inevitable. Mr. Adair, a skilful Minister, a man of wisdom and temperance, is gone to the Dardanelles, with full authority from our Government to treat with the Minister of the Porte, and conclude peace. If the new state of affairs at Constantinople cause any impediment, I shall deeply lament it; but I shall always give to your Highness's friendly sentiments towards

England that value which your wisdom and correct judgment of the real interests of our two countries has stamped upon them.

Your Highness will be glad to hear of the reverses which the French have lately met with. It seems to be the beginning of their depression, and holds out some hope that the calamities which they cause will cease. Your Highness is informed of their treachery in Spain—how they corrupted the Spanish Ministry, marched her best troops into distant countries, made them instruments for enslaving Austria, Prussia, Denmark, Sweden, and Portugal, and removed them from Spain, which they were born to defend. When they had drained the country of its resources, there was nothing wanting to their perfidy but to seize on the persons of the Princes, and of those nobles on whom the Government seemed to rest. These indignities, these violations of every right, roused the native and inherent spirit of the nation: all Spain arose to assert its independence. They were not discouraged by a numerous French army in the heart of their kingdom; commanded by Buonaparte's veteran Generals,—by the absence of their best troops,—by finding their arsenals empty, and every munition of war removed or in decay. It was their Country which they were to rescue from the tyranny of a perfidious invader, and their patriotism surmounted every difficulty. It was against oppression and injustice that they struggled, and they found in England a powerful and faithful friend. In every action which they have had with the enemy they have been victorious; and the people, whose occupations had been hitherto in tillage and the arts of peace, became in a short time skilful in war. At Baylen the whole French army was taken. At Saragossa, Valencia, and Gerona, to which towns they laid siege for a length of time, they were repulsed at last with the loss of most of their force. The French General Junot kept possession of

Portugal until the arrival of the English troops, who fought with him on the 21st of last month, and his whole army surrendered as prisoners. They still hold possession of Barcelona and Figueras, because a sufficient force has not been brought against them; but they are in misery, and content themselves, like other evil spirits, in doing all the mischief they can.

I have given your Highness an account of these transactions, because I believe you will be glad to hear that the progress of a power which has caused so much desolation in the world has met with a check, and because they afford a memorable proof, that whenever the inhabitants will oppose a firm resistance to France, they will insure success. Let not, then, the Sublime Porte be deluded by the French, and their vain boast of invincibility. The integrity and independence of Turkey should depend on itself,—not upon a frail alliance with a deceitful nation. The dignity of the Ottomans would be injured, and the splendour of the Sublime Porte tarnished, by a dependence on a power whose injustice has made it the opprobrium of Europe. I pray God to give wisdom to the Turkish Councils, that they may avert so great an evil. Your Highness requests that large ships may be sent to your coasts; but at this moment it cannot be done, because the French have at this port, Toulon, where I now am, a large force ready for sea; but I hope the frigates in your neighbourhood are vigilant and active against the enemy, and that soon your interests and ours will be the same.

FROM THE EARL OF MULGRAVE.

Admiralty, September 25, 1808.

I have received with great regret your private letter of the 26th of August, explaining to me the grounds on which your public letter, requesting to be relieved, had been written. I lament to learn that your health and strength have been impaired from the long and uninterrupted exertions by which you have so ably conducted the delicate, difficult, and important duties of your command. Upon a former intimation of the injury which your health had received, I took the liberty of pressing strongly upon your Lordship's consideration the importance which I attach to your continuance in a situation in which, through a variety of great and complicated objects, of difficult and delicate arrangements, of political as well as of professional considerations, your Lordship had in no instance failed to adopt the most judicious and best-concerted measures. Impressed as I was and am with the difficulty of supplying your place, I cannot forbear (which I hope you will excuse) suspending the recall which you have required, till I shall hear again from you, whether, under the diminished difficulties of your command, you are still of opinion that a longer continuance at sea would be injurious to your health, which I should feel it a public, as well as a personal duty, to consult. Should such be your determination, I am not without hopes that the service may yet derive material advantage from the exercise of your Lordship's talents, without any impediment to the restoration of your health, if the eventual proposal which I am about to submit to your Lordship should be consistent with your arrangements, and receive your assent. I have it in contemplation to relieve the officers commanding at the several ports who have been

more than three years on that duty ; and in making my arrangements, I should consider it as highly advantageous to the service if your Lordship would take the direction at Plymouth, which is, in a great degree, the centre and spring of the most active points of naval operations. I shall await your Lordship's answer, in the hope that I may have the advantages of your able assistance in one or other of the two commands—at Plymouth, if the Mediterranean should no longer be consistent with the material considerations of your health.

Upon receiving the names of the Lieutenants whom your Lordship is desirous of promoting, I shall pay attention to your wishes in that respect.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY ROBERT ADAIR, ESQ.

Ocean, off Toulon, October 2, 1808.

I have received a letter from Lord Mulgrave, informing me that a quantity of artillery, &c. will be sent out, to be supplied to Ali Pacha, in the event of his commencing hostilities against the French. I have always encouraged the Pacha of Albania to expect assistance in expelling the French from his territory whenever he declared himself their enemy ; and he was last summer most desirous that we should attack St. Maura, and having reduced it, give it to him. Although we were at war with the Porte, I offered him the assistance of ships to act against it, and co-operate with him when he attacked with his army ; but he always declined any measure of actual hostility against the French to be committed by himself. By Seid Achmet Effendi, whom he has sent to London, I find he has particularly desired that he should be assisted in reducing Parga. From all the accounts I have of that place, I think that to take it may require more of the art of war than the Vizier's Generals possess.

It has a port for small vessels, on the outside of which is deep water, and where ships certainly cannot lie in winter. The cliff is stated to be about as high as Europa Point, at Gibraltar. The town stands upon the acclivity of an easy hill, on the summit of which is an old citadel, but of what strength is probably not much known, though its situation commands the town. The fortresses were in a ruinous state, until the reserve which Ali Pacha has lately observed to the French induced them to strengthen the works by some new batteries towards the sea. This is the best account I can get of Parga; and I think, if he were to bring his forces against it at a season when the ships could anchor near it, it would probably be soon reduced; but one of the greatest obstacles is, the disposition of the inhabitants, who, being Christians, have always shewn an abhorrence to the Turkish rule. It is of importance to Ali Pacha to possess it as a sort of frontier town; for I understand that his authority is very ill established between that and Demitri. He has scarce any control over the people of that coast, nor have his forces ever been able to assert his power, or enforce his laws. He has there but a very nominal superiority, which you know is the case in other parts of Albania, and very common in the Morea.

Lord Mulgrave desired me to communicate to you my sentiments on this subject, as in the course of your negotiation you may have occasion to advert to it. It is doubtless of great importance to dispossess the French from every part of that coast; but St. Maura appears to me of the greatest importance, from the circumstance of the pass between it and the main, in which there is said not to be more than three or four feet of water, and through it all the coast vessels from Petressa, the Gulph of Lepanto, and ports to the southward, pass to avoid the cruisers. The possession of St. Maura would

limit the French intercourse very much ; that of Parga would not prevent what is carried on, in despite of the Pachā, between Corfu and the coast immediately opposite.

I have had great anxiety of mind lest the changes which are said to have taken place in the Government at Constantinople may have caused difficulties to your important mission.

TO VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH.

Ocean, off Toulon, October 12, 1808.

I have received the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 19th August ; and I beg to express to your Lordship how truly gratified and happy I am that the conduct which I have observed on the several subjects therein mentioned should have met with His Majesty's approbation, and that my statement of the events which have happened in Spain should be in any degree useful to His Majesty's Ministers.

I have also received your Lordship's letter of August, conveying to me the sentiments of His Majesty's Ministers on the capitulation of Baylen, and the commands of His Majesty as to the manner in which the provisions of it may be carried into execution. I have written a letter to the Supreme Junta of Seville, to be sent to them by Rear-Admiral Purvis, whenever they shall make application for the passports ; in which letter I have asserted His Majesty's just rights as an independent belligerent power ; pointed at his reason for conceding to Spain a permission to send their prisoners away as arising from His Majesty's admiration of the military talents of their General, and the loyalty and courage which animated his army and the people of Spain ; and prescribed the manner in which they may be sent, and to what ports in France.

TO MOHAMED ALI, PACHA OF EGYPT.

Ocean, off Toulon, October 16, 1808.

I had the honour to receive your Excellency's letter ; and it gave me much pleasure to find you disposed to friendship, and manifesting that disposition by offices of kindness towards the English in Egypt. It has always been the wish of my King to preserve peace with all countries. The respect which the two nations bear to each other, and their mutual interests, would have insured the continuance of their friendship, if it had not been interrupted by the insidious arts of France ; but it is worthy of your Excellency's attention to mark the object and ultimate design of those perfidies by which she accomplished the rupture. It was not England that was affected by a war with Turkey. The security of England from the assault of foreign powers, her wealth, her commerce, and the happiness of her people, were not impaired ; yet was it a subject of lamentation that an ancient ally should listen to the faithless representations of our common enemy, and a great people pursue measures that must inevitably lead them to their ruin. But it was the subversion of the Ottoman Empire in Europe which the ambition of Buonaparte contemplated, and the intrigues of his Ministers prepared. It was the boundless pride of the French Ruler which inflamed him with the desire of seating himself upon the throne of the Sultans ; but, happily for mankind, God has been pleased to will it otherwise.

I conclude that your Excellency has been informed of what has happened in Spain, — that Buonaparte, under pretence of defending that kingdom against the English, who were not attacking it, corrupted the Spanish Ministers, marched a great army into the country,

was put, by the treachery of one Godoy, the Spanish Minister, in possession of many places of strength, and having established himself in Spain, appointed one of his brothers to be its King, telling the Spaniards that it was their happiness alone that led him to give them a new ruler,—that he thought their King was not a good one, and therefore gave them a better. This man would probably say the same thing to your Excellency were he ever to be established in Europe; or perhaps, as the sanctity of religion has no respect from him, he would tell you that he did not approve the doctrines of your prophet, and would name you another object for your veneration. Under the pretence of settling the Government, he seduced the King, his family, and numbers of the nobility, to meet him at Bayonne, from whence he sent them prisoners to France, where they remain. The Spanish people—a brave and noble-spirited race of men—had seen the misfortunes of their Government with pain, but obeyed the laws while there was an authority in Spain to administer them. But when their Princes were stolen or imprisoned by Buonaparte, they saw themselves on the eve of suffering those devastations which all other unhappy States have experienced wherever the French have prevailed. The whole nation rose in arms to save their Country; and in every battle which the French have fought with the Spaniards they have been driven from the field, or have sought for mercy in submission to their conquerors. A great army, commanded by Dupont, Bedel, and other French Generals of note, after a battle, in which they lost many men, laid down their arms. At Saragossa, the inhabitants, who were not soldiers, beat the French sixteen times in as many assaults which they made upon that city. At Valencia and Gerona they were, in like manner, driven away. In the mean time, the English army landed in Portugal, and having beaten the French under General Junot

in two battles, on the 17th and 21st of August, compelled them to quit Portugal, and restored that country to its lawful Sovereign. The Russian fleet which lay in the Tagus surrendered, and are sent to England. Great numbers of the foreigners who were in the French army are deserting from it, and some of my ships are employed in carrying them to their own countries.

I have thought this account of affairs in Spain and Portugal would be satisfactory to your Excellency ; and as you will never hear the real truth from the French who are in your country, this may serve to guard you against their misrepresentations. The English Ambassador is gone to the Dardanelles, and I hope before you receive this, you will have heard of the restoration of peace.

I wish you health, most excellent Pacha, and have the honour to be your friend.

TO HIS MAJESTY'S CONSUL-GENERAL AT ALGIERS.

Ocean, off Toulon, October 26, 1808.

I am sorry for the English merchants who were so unfortunate as to be taken in a Portuguese vessel ; but the Dey is at war with Portugal, and Englishmen being in a ship of that nation cannot be understood to give her protection from capture. The Algerines, in hoisting English colours when in pursuit of their enemy, only did that which is a common practice with all nations who are at war. It must be considered as deceiving their enemy, which they have a right to do, and not the Englishmen, whom they had no reason to expect to find there.

The cargoes of ships of those States with which another State is at war are confiscate, unless they be the property of the subjects of

a nation which, by treaty, has secured the restoration of it. I believe there is no such provision in our treaties with Algiers. It is provided, in the 19th article of the treaty of 1698, that British subjects are to be treated with kindness, and their *baggage* preserved entire to them ; but I do not understand this protecting article to secure their property, if the ship's cargo be theirs. It may appear, at first sight, extraordinary, that the securities given to the property of the subjects of the two nations are not reciprocal ; for the persons of British subjects, taken in the ship of a nation at war with Algiers, and their property only, are protected ; but Algerine property, even if it extend to the whole cargo, is to be restored. Whatever restitution of property the Dey may make, on your application, should be considered as a proof of his friendship to the British nation, and his desire to do equal justice ; but his withholding such favour does not afford a just cause of complaint.

I have said that this inequality of rights appears at first sight extraordinary, but I believe it to be the true meaning and intention of the treaty, and for the following reason :—In the year 1660 the Navigation Act was passed, which had for its principal object the increase of British shipping, and the restraining merchants, in their commercial intercourse with foreign countries, from using ships which were not British. All subsequent acts and treaties with Foreign Powers kept this important object in view. Every security which could be devised was given to property embarked in British ships and those which were admitted to the same privileges, while the same security was not given to what was embarked in foreign ships ; and this principle seems to have been in the contemplation of the Ministers who made the treaty with Algiers, and is the cause of the inequality of the security.

TO THE KING OF NAPLES.

SIRE,

Ocean, off Toulon, October 27, 1808.

The letter which your Majesty has done me the high honour to address to me has inspired me with the most lively sense of gratitude for your Majesty's gracious condescension, and with the most perfect gratification that my humble services should in any degree merit your Majesty's approbation. It is the duty of every officer of my Sovereign to be vigilantly regardful of whatever relates to your Majesty's interests, or to those of your Royal Family; and I have the pleasure to say, that their anxious desire perfectly coincides with this duty. I should consider it as a great misfortune to me, were any circumstance to remove me from this country before I had paid my personal homage to a Prince in whose service I have, in some degree, considered myself since I came into the Mediterranean, and to Her Majesty; and I hope your Majesty is assured that it has been my careful regard to my public duty which has alone prevented me so long from having that honour.

With my prayers for your Majesty's happiness, I have the honour to be, &c.

TO THE MARQUESS DI CIRCELLO.

Ocean, off Toulon, October 27, 1808.

I have to express to your Lordship the gratification I feel in the expression of approbation which His Majesty has been pleased to signify of my attention to Prince Leopold. The interests of His Majesty and of every branch of the Royal Family have ever been near my heart. While the French were in force to undertake any enterprises, it was my duty to be near them; and although I have

not had the good fortune to meet the enemy, I hope I have prevented their taking any measures which would have been detrimental to the general interests of our countries.

While I am writing this letter to your Excellency, which was meant alone to express my obligation to you for the confidence which your Lordship has placed in me, I cannot forbear mentioning a circumstance which has occupied much of my consideration.

The Dey of Algiers, on some report being made to him of rigorous treatment to Algerines in Sicily, had ordered all the severities of slavery to be exercised on the Sicilians who are in his power. I desired the English Consul to use his influence in their behalf; and by a late letter, I learn from him, that the Dey has promised to desist from persecuting them, whenever he hears that his people are treated with lenity, and has already, in some degree, mitigated the severities to which they had been subject. Well assured, my Lord, that your ears are ever open to the cause of humanity, I mention this subject to you, in behalf of the unfortunate Sicilians. Tunis and Algiers having lately made peace with each other, I can already perceive, in those States, a disposition to be active on the sea; and it will require a very particular care and vigilance on the coasts of Sicily to prevent their committing depredations.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY ROBERT ADAIR, ESQ.

Ocean, off Toulon, October 29, 1808.

I have lately received letters from Egypt, giving a relation of the state of affairs in that country; and I must state to you what is the impression which the general tenor of those letters, and of others which I had before received, has made on my mind.

At all times, M. Drovetti, the French Consul, has been very zealous to ingratiate himself with the Pacha; but particularly since there was the appearance of our negotiating for peace with the Porte, he has been industrious to reconcile the differences of the Beys, and bring the whole to a friendly correspondence with the Pacha. They have lately re-organised their troops,—reviewed the defences of the coast,—erected new batteries at Alexandria, Rosetta, and Damietta,—provided armed vessels for the river,—and are in a state of activity not usual for those people at any time, certainly not when there is no appearance of hostility against them. Drovetti's influence is predominant at Cairo; and I am strongly impressed with the opinion that, should peace be concluded by your Excellency with the Sublime Porte, Egypt will still maintain its connexion with France, or, at all events, will act in despite of the Supreme Government of the Porte. Monsieur Drovetti knows that, in such a case, the Pacha will soon want assistance, and has doubtless promised him that of the French. Their armies would then probably be admitted into the country in small parties, as they could conveniently send them, and would be received as friends; for the minds of the inhabitants are prepared to consider them in that light by numerous publications printed in the Turkish language in France, and dispersed throughout the country.

I have troubled your Excellency with this conjecture on the state of Egypt, as it may not be useless to you in the service in which you are now engaged.

TO THE EARL OF MULGRAVE.

Ocean, off Toulon, October 30, 1808.

I have received the honour of your Lordship's letter of 6th of September, and it has afforded me the highest gratification to find that the conduct I have observed in the several occurrences that have presented themselves to my attention has met with your Lordship's approbation.

I can always assure your Lordship of my zeal and diligence in my duty, and of the exercise of my best judgment in the service of my King and Country. I never have had, I hope I never shall have, a desire to shrink from it while I have health and ability to perform it; but my life has been a long one, and an anxious one to a mind which never engages in any thing with indifference. I have not any particular illness; but am become exceedingly weak and languid, and often find myself too much disordered to exert myself as I wish to do, and as my situation requires. It was this consideration that induced me to make the request to the Board of Admiralty, which I have done since writing to your Lordship;—and now that I have explained my motive and reasons, I have only to add, that my best service is due to my Country as long as I live, and I leave all else to your Lordship's consideration and convenience.

TO LORD RADSTOCK.

Ocean, off Toulon, November 1, 1808.

That system of Acting-Captains is a dreadful bar to good order in the Navy, and there are many other things which well-meaning people, in the kindness and benevolence of their hearts,

think very necessary. I dare say they are gratifying to their feelings; but with a view to public service they are highly detrimental. When one considers, that in all great bodies of men who are in any profession, a large proportion of them engage in it more from motives of individual interest than from public spirit, all laws, rules, and regulations, should have this principle in view, and the interests of those who really serve should be advanced. It is not the case, which is the reason that the ships have very inexperienced youths for their Lieutenants, and the Surgeons have a premium, in a large half-pay, for going ashore. I could say a great deal on this subject, if I were not afraid it would impress you with an idea that I am hard-hearted, which indeed I am not. The difficulty in getting officers is such, that the subject has been much upon my mind. Few line-of-battle-ships have more than two or three officers who are seamen. The rest are boys, fine children in their mothers' eyes, and the facility with which they get promoted makes them indifferent as to their qualification. I have been made very happy in finding that my conduct, and the principle by which I was governed through some very delicate and interesting discussions at Cadiz, have been much approved by His Majesty's Ministers. My only object in this world is the interest of my Country; and if I go wrong in my endeavours to maintain it, the error will be in my judgment, and not in my heart.

For Spain, I hope that its affairs will mend, now that they have got something like a Government. This province of Catalonia is still dreadfully languid in its operations, although the spirit and enthusiasm of the people are equal to that of any part of Spain. They all want leaders, and here, unhappily, they have none but a fat unwieldy Marquess, who, if his principles are good, has a very limited ability. You know more of Portugal than I do; but, from what I hear, we

have mistaken the principle of action which is to put it out of the power of the armies of France to be combatants. In the present state of things, perhaps they were less injurious in Portugal than they will be in France. Sir H. Dalrymple is an honourable and a very sensible man ; and how it was managed I do not know.

I have been indifferent lately, growing very weak and infirm in my limbs, worn out, I believe, by the weight of years. I hope to keep the complaint out of my head a little longer ; but as God wills.

I wish you health, my dear Lord, and every happiness.

TO THE SAME.

Ocean, November 7, 1808.

I am sorry that I had not the means of keeping Captain Waldegrave here, but really the thing is not a great consideration ; for of pecuniary advantage there is very little, although a great deal of very hard and laborious service. The only trade of the enemy is in small boats going along shore with a little oil and earthenware, a great number of which have been destroyed, as the only means we have of making the inhabitants feel the pressure of war. You may depend on it, the hearts of the States of Europe are with us, and that the fear alone of the French army prevents them all, even Russia, from taking an active part. I have kept the fleet complete in all things, through a very boisterous season ; but it keeps my attention constantly on the stretch, and I am not strong as I once was. The Spaniards are very languid in Catalonia. I brush them up, but they are not the brighter for it.

TO LADY COLLINGWOOD.

Ocean, off Toulon, November 8, 1808.

You cannot conceive how I am worried by the French; their fleet is lying in the port here, with all the appearance of sailing in a few hours; and God knows whether they will sail at all, for I get no intelligence of them. Their frigates have been out in a gale of wind, were chased by some of our ships, and got in again. We have had most frightful gales, which have injured some of my ships very much; but now that the Alps have got a good coat of snow on them, I hope we shall have more moderate weather. I have a double sort of game to play here, watching the French with one eye, while with the other I am directing the assistance to be given to the Spaniards. The French have a considerable force at Barcelona and Figueras, by which they keep the avenues open for Buonaparte to send his army whenever he is ready. The Spaniards have much to do, more than the people in England are aware of. I have, however, from the beginning, given the Ministers a true view of the state of affairs in Spain. It is a great satisfaction to me to find that every thing I have done has been approved by Government; and the letters I receive from the Secretary of State always communicate to me His Majesty's entire approbation. I have heard from the Governor of Cadiz and others, that some of my papers, addressed to the Junta of Seville, on the conduct which the Spaniards ought to pursue on certain occasions, have been very much commended. Perhaps you may think I am grown very conceited in my old age, and fancy myself a mighty politician; but indeed it is not so. However lofty a tone the subject may require and my language assume, I assure you it is in great humility of heart that I utter it, and often

in fear and trembling, lest I should exceed my bounds. This must always be the case with one who, like me, has been occupied in studies so remote from such business. I do every thing for myself, and never distract my mind with other people's opinions. To the credit of any good which happens I may lay claim, and I will never shift upon another the discredit when the result is bad. And now, my dear wife, I think of you as being where alone true comfort can be found, enjoying in your own warm house a happiness which in the great world is not known. Heaven bless you! may your joys be many, and your cares few. My heart often yearns for home; but when that blessed day will come in which I shall see it, God knows. I am afraid it is not so near as I expected. I told you that I had written to the Admiralty that my health was not good, and requested their Lordships would be pleased to relieve me. This was not a feigned case. It is true I had not a fever or a dyspepsy. Do you know what a dyspepsy is? I'll tell you. It is the disease of officers who have grown tired, and then they get invalided for dyspepsy. I had not this complaint, but my mind was worn by continual fatigue. I felt a consciousness that my faculties were weakened by application, and saw no prospect of respite; and that the public service might not suffer from my holding a station, and performing its duties feebly, I applied for leave to return to you, to be cherished and restored. What their answer will be, I do not know yet; but I had before mentioned my declining health to Lord Mulgrave, and he tells me in reply, that he hopes I will stay, for he knows not how to supply my place. The impression which his letter made upon me was one of grief and sorrow: first, that with such a list as we have, there should be thought to be any difficulty in finding a successor of superior ability to me; and next, that there should be

any obstacle in the way of the only comfort and happiness that I have to look forward to in this world. The variety of subjects, all of great importance, with which I am engaged, would puzzle a longer head than mine. The conduct of the fleet alone would be easy; but the political correspondence which I have to carry on with the Spaniards, the Turks, the Albanians, the Egyptians, and all the States of Barbary, gives me such constant occupation, that I really often feel my spirits quite exhausted, and of course my health is much impaired: but if I must go on, I will do the best I can. The French have a force here quite equal to us; and a winter's cruise, which is only to be succeeded by a summer one, is not very delightful, for we have dreadful weather; and in my heart I long for that respite which my home would give me, and that comfort of which I have had so little experience.

I hope your father and sister are well, and far happier than I am; but tell them that, happy or miserable, I shall ever love them. —, who was making a fortune, has behaved so ill, that he is to be tried by a court martial: but there are some people who cannot bear to be lifted out of the mud; it is their native element, and they are no where so well as in it.

TO THE MARQUESS DI CIRCELLO.

Ocean, off Toulon, November 13, 1808.

The capture of Capri by the enemy gave me very great concern, because of the effect which every success they have naturally makes upon the public mind, and as it is an indication of more activity in that quarter than they have shewn lately. Your Excellency may depend upon it that my cares are ever awake for the safety of Sicily, and I have been for some time preparing to

send ships to its coasts; not, indeed, having it in my contemplation that they were necessary to its defence, but that they should be ready to co-operate in any offensive operation which might be judged advisable. The condition of the fleet, which has made it necessary to send several ships into port for repair, and the attitude of readiness which the enemy preserves in Toulon, have alone delayed this disposition.

To watch the enemy's ships, there has, at all times, been stationed three vessels of war, which were supposed to be superior to any they had at Naples; and considering the numerous points, all which require to be occupied, at all of which they are asking for an increase of force, your Excellency will perceive the reason why a large force was not stationed where the enemy appeared to have very little; for I never heard that any preparations were making at Naples, until I was informed of this appearance off Capri.

But Sicily is one of the most important objects in my view, and all the force I can possibly collect shall be assembled for its safety. I have sent Admiral Martin with two ships of the line; he is ordered also to keep the *Renown*, which I expect he will find at Palermo. I could not commit this service to a more intelligent and zealous officer; one who, besides his exactness in all his public duties, has the additional stimulus of his attachment and respect for Sicily.

Your Excellency observes that, now we are at peace with Spain, a larger disposable naval force will remain to me: at first view it is a very natural conclusion, yet the very reverse is the case. The Spaniards, for want of national funds and the means of supporting their army, have found it necessary to unburden themselves of the expense of their navy, and their coasts near the enemy all demand our protection with most pressing importunity. The Castle of

Rosas has been repaired, and partly garrisoned from the ships which, lying in that bay, have alone prevented it from falling into the hands of the enemy. Even at Cadiz, where I (considering the security of that district as established) left a very small force, the Governor has applied for more ships to restrain the turbulent disposition which has shewn itself amongst the French there. Since the troops were drawn from Majorca and Minorca to reinforce the army on the Continent, those Islands cannot be considered in a state of security but by the presence of a fleet which can restrain the enemy's; add to which, ten sail of the line are gone to England.

I mention these circumstances to your Excellency to remove the idea that the late events in Spain have relieved the pressing duties of the squadron; but however numerous they may be, I shall always consider Sicily as one of the most important.

TO THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS LORD,

AMET, PACHA AND DEY OF ALGIERS.

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS LORD,

Ocean, off Toulon, November 15, 1808.

As soon as His Majesty's Consul, at your Highness's residence, informed me that a representation had been made to you that your subjects, who were captive in Sicily, were treated with rigour and unnecessary severity, I lost no time in making inquiry on this matter, and have received an answer from the Marquess di Circello, Minister of State to His Sicilian Majesty. This Minister, as your Highness, without doubt, already knows, is esteemed to be an honourable, just, and humane man, and, from his report, I think I can assure your Highness that the accounts which have been given of the treatment of the Algerines in Sicily have been

exaggerated. He tells me that he ordered strict inquiry to be made into their situation, and directed that no severities should be exercised on them beyond what the public safety made necessary, and that measures should be taken to ameliorate their condition as much as possible. This resolution is worthy of a wise man, who can compassionate the misfortunes even of his enemy; and I doubt not that the same rule of conduct will be ordered by your Highness to be observed towards the Sicilians. That they are in your power will be a sufficient motive to your noble mind to take them into your protection. In considering the case of the Algerine captives, I could not overlook the unhappy condition to which two countries, which possess so fully the means of happiness for their inhabitants, are reduced by the continuance of war, where there is no quarrel,—a war which had its origin in ancient prejudices, which are long since worn out, and continued by habit,—the prosecution of which brings nothing but misfortune to the subjects, and is in direct opposition to the best interests of both countries.

I hope your Highness will allow me (who, feeling that respect which is due to the illustrious friend of my Sovereign, would be glad to see your name exalted as the founder of peace and happiness in your country,) to bring this subject to the consideration of your enlightened mind, and to consider of the means by which peace and the blessed intercourse of friendship might be established between two powers who are so much enabled to render mutual benefits.

In making peace, your subjects will be secure from the danger of an unhappy bondage;—you will open the avenues to a social intercourse with your nearest neighbours, and your ports to a commerce that will fill your treasury with wealth.

Your Highness knows how precarious and doubtful are the enter-

prises of your cruisers, seldom being successful enough to pay the expenses of their equipment; but there will be no doubt in the enterprises of your merchants. You may consider every ship that will enter your port as bringing riches to your state; and no country is more conveniently situated for your commerce than Sicily. The true policy of such a measure will be apparent by observing what has passed in other countries.

The Sublime Porte having experienced the benefits which arise to the subject and to the state by preserving peace, never would have abandoned it but on the instigations of the French, whose ruler, having views on the Turkish Empire, saw his wicked plans advanced by reducing the power of Turkey, and involving it in war, which, although not a very active one, was exceedingly destructive to the Ottoman Empire, exhausting its treasure, and suspending the commerce which was the source of it. But the wisdom of the Sublime Porte soon discovered how great an evil had been brought upon them; and the measures which they are taking to restore peace will, it is hoped, be effectual. Through how many ages did the Emperor of Morocco wage an implacable war against Spain? But time and experience opened the eyes of those Governments to the true interests of their respective countries. Their enlightened understandings saw the absurdity of continuing those violences to the human race, when the original cause of their warfare had so long ceased;—they made peace, and have since carried on an intercourse of friendship highly advantageous to both their countries;—they have forgotten all former animosities, and a Moor at Cadiz is as well received as an Englishman. The misfortunes of your people in Sicily brought this subject to my consideration. In submitting it to your Highness, I have great hope that, directed by wisdom, you will discover the means of blessing

the two countries, and establish your name as the friend and benefactor of both, by making peace.

TO J. E. BLACKETT, ESQ.

Ocean, at Sea, January 1, 1809.

On the return of your birth-day, I must send you my best wishes for your health and happiness.

My ship is in bad condition. I have worn my patience out, in endeavouring to get to Gibraltar, and the adverse winds now oblige me to go for Malta. Many misfortunes have befallen me; and the state of my health, decayed from anxiety and care, unfits me to contend with them. I have applied to come to England, and be relieved; to which the Ministers are very averse: but I am unequal to continue those labours which I have hitherto borne, and I hope they will relax. While able, I have not shrunk from the task, and should now be allowed to retire.

FROM THE EARL OF MULGRAVE.

Admiralty, January 3, 1809.

I cannot easily express to your Lordship the satisfaction with which I have received your letter of the 30th October, intimating your consent to continue in the command of the Mediterranean station. If the appointment of any particular officers, of whatsoever rank, to serve in the fleet under your Lordship's command, will tend in any way to render the arduous and important service committed to your direction either more easy and agreeable to yourself, or the attainment of the various and complicated objects which engage your attention more certain and effectual, I will take care to make arrangements for placing under your command those whom you may select,

with every possible attention to the officers who may be withdrawn for that purpose.

That excellent man and highly distinguished officer, Lord Gardner, was lost to his family, his friends, (among whom I was proud to be classed,) and to his Country, last Saturday, at Bath. Your Lordship's eminent services and high professional character pointed you out as a worthy successor to the dignified distinction of Major-General of Marines, and I have great satisfaction in acquainting you that I have received His Majesty's commands to notify to you, that His Majesty has been graciously pleased to appoint your Lordship to be Major-General of Marines, *vice* Admiral Lord Gardner, deceased.

TO LORD RADSTOCK.

Ocean, in the way to Malta, January 4, 1809.

The termination of the affairs in Portugal was not such as I thought it probably would have been; for, in any event almost, it would seem to have been better to have kept the French in Portugal than to have let them loose. This, however, depends on particular circumstances, of which I am not possessed; and I cannot help thinking that the outrageous clamour which was made in England against Sir H. Dalrymple, &c. before any of the circumstances were or could be known, is, in every point of view, the worst part of the business. It was this which gave a triumph to the enemy that they could no where else have found, — it was this which raised their reputation amongst all foreign nations. Had they been represented as beaten, pursued, humbling themselves before the British arms, and turned ignominiously from a country which they had despoiled, (which was, in fact, the case,) they would have lost credit in the eyes of Europe, instead of having their fame for skill and ability exalted and

proclaimed. I do not mean to be the advocate of the measures taken; for I know not enough of the circumstances to enable me to judge of them, and yet as much as many of those who caused the clamour. Every day the service will become more arduous, and perhaps offer more occasions for trying the temper of the people, who cannot easily be reconciled to reverses. It is so easy to form plans over a bottle of wine, and to make an estimate of the advantages to result from them, that I do not wonder that such people should often meet with disappointment.

My weak eyes and feeble limbs want rest; my anxious breast has not known an hour's composure for many months. In Spain every thing seems to fail. In short, they have not an organized army to act against the legions of France. My ships have done every thing possible to enable the Spaniards to maintain the castles at Rosas; but I hear they have surrendered. The Spanish army would do nothing,—no argument could move them from Gerona, to raise the siege. Every day brought an excuse: they were ill armed—they had not provisions—they were without clothes—in short, they would not come. To the Captain-General I represented what must inevitably be the consequence of this delay. I shewed him Catalonia lost, if he did not raise the siege, which was carried on by a gang of Italians, who were ready to run away if they had been attacked. Captain West, at Rosas, and Lord Cochrane, in Trinity Castle, distinguished themselves very much: indeed, the defence which Lord Cochrane made, even after the breach was practicable, redounds highly to his honour and reputation as an officer. These events kept me off Toulon, that no aid should go from thence. The storms were unceasing, and at last drove us, by their violence, quite away. This ship has suffered very much: she is bolted with copper, and might as well be bolted with lead.

She had like to have gone to pieces. I am now on the way to Malta, to secure her with iron bolts; but she will never be good for any thing until she be docked in England, and secured with iron. Your nephew is a Lieutenant of this ship: he is a fine young man, and I like him very much.

TO THE EARL OF MULGRAVE.

Ocean, Malta, January 10, 1809.

In the last month I received the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 25th September. Nothing could be more gratifying to me than such a testimony of your Lordship's approbation of the measures which I have taken to promote the public welfare on the several occasions which have come within my cognizance. My long continuance at sea has made me very feeble; and the fear of my unfitness, which I know people are often the last to discover in themselves, induced me to make the application. My situation requires the most vigorous mind, which is seldom possessed at the same time with great debility of body. Since my letter of the 30th October to your Lordship on this subject, the vexations which I have had on account of the affairs in Catalonia, and the violent stormy weather, which has done much injury to some of the ships, particularly to the *Ocean*, have increased my infirmity; but on this subject I have nothing to add to what was said in that letter. I have no object in the world that I put in competition with my public duty; and so long as your Lordship thinks it proper to continue me in this command, my utmost efforts shall be made to strengthen the impression which you now have; but I still hope, that whenever it may be done with convenience, your Lordship will bear in mind my request. On the subject of Plymouth, I have only to say, that wherever I can best render my service, I shall

be at your Lordship's command. I would not have requested to be recalled from hence on any account but that which I have stated; and when my health is restored, I shall be perfectly at your Lordship's disposal; but with the little that I have ever had to do with ports, I should enter on that field with great diffidence.

TO THE SAME.

Ocean, at Malta, January 21, 1809.

This winter has been, and continues to be, unusually boisterous. The unremitting gales have done much injury to the ships which were at sea, and many are here for their repair. The *Ocean*, I hope, will soon be made as firm as she can be without a dock, but that is necessary to make her perfect. The state of the enemy and Spaniards at Rosas kept me longer out than I would have staid; but it was necessary, to prevent the French army receiving any assistance from Toulon; and had the Spaniards moved to raise the siege, they might have done it. The French army was not more than 10 or 12,000 men, most of them Italians; and by the Spaniards' account, they had to oppose to them near 30,000, between Villa Franca and Rosas; but not the smallest effort was made to give obstruction to the enemy.

I believe I have before mentioned General Vives to your Lordship as an officer in whom the Spaniards themselves had not much confidence. He was a dependant of the Prince of the Peace, and his fortunes were raised by that Minister. The objections he made to sending troops from Majorca incurred the displeasure and suspicion of the Supreme Junta; and yet, when they removed him from the islands, they appointed him Captain-General in Catalonia, one of the most important posts in Spain. At the moment when letters were written to me from Madrid of the suspicion entertained of him by the Supreme

Junta, and I was requested to call on him to declare the part which he meant to take,—whether hostile or loyal to Spain,—the Junta were writing to him in the most flattering terms, which letters he published in the province. Rosas was very important to them: they cannot recover it again but with great difficulty.

I received by the Camilla a copy of the instructions given to Captain Leake, for his conduct in the interview with the Pacha of Albania. I hope I shall have an opportunity of seeing him before he proceeds to that coast. A great deal of caution is necessary in treating with the Pacha, from what I have collected of his character. He possesses consummate art and subtility, is powerful, and has a thirst for power. The Russians supported, as the French now do, the neighbouring Pachas and Agas, with the view of restraining him. His anxiety to possess Parga is more for the purpose of controlling the neighbouring Agas, than of extirpating the French, with whom I have a suspicion that he was carrying on a friendly correspondence last year, when to us he was professing himself their inveterate enemy. I have heard that he negotiated with the French General for the possession of Parga, at the moment when he was entreating us to take St. Maura and give it to him. His negotiation failed, and then he resorted to other means to obtain it. My language to him has always given him assurance of our friendship, and that whenever the state of the Porte will authorise him to commence hostility against the French, he shall have every assistance which the squadron can afford him. I apprehend he will have more than the French to oppose; for the Greeks have a much greater dread of him than of the French, and will exert themselves for the independence of their respective countries. It is difficult to form a just notion of the policy and complex interests of such a number of little Governments, ruled by Pachas and Agas, along the

coast, all subject to the Porte, but all jealous of their independence of each other; ready to oppose any invader of their Country; and most of them more afraid of Ali Pacha than of the French, and only holding intercourse with the latter, as they enable them to resist his projects.

In the Seven Islands, the people, oppressed by the exactions of the French, have amongst them men who form projects for the emancipation of their Country and the restoration of the Republic, looking to England for the means of men and money to accomplish them. One of those at Vienna lately sent me a copy of his plan. It appeared to me to be the indigested scheme of a person who wished to have some appointment in the British service. I evaded his proposal, as not being convenient to be undertaken at the present moment, and recommended that a person of so much influence in his Country as he stated himself to be, should, by his presence in the island, support the interest which he espoused, and wait a favourable opportunity. This, by his reply to me, he seems to consider as an instruction from me to organise a revolution, in a country where I understand he has but a second-rate influence, and which itself possesses no means whatever. I mention this to your Lordship as an instance of the flimsy foundation on which people, distressed by their misfortunes, would build their hopes, and who, having lost all, would grasp at any shadow. There are often such projectors; at the same time, I believe they would all unite even with the French to oppose Ali Pacha.

TO THE MARQUESS DI CIRCELLO.

Ocean, at Malta, January 24, 1809.

Soon after I received the honour of your Excellency's letter, in which you observed that there was nothing which His Sicilian Majesty more desired than that peace should be concluded with Algiers, I had occasion to write a letter to the Dey, in which I brought this subject before him. I endeavoured to shew him the honour he would derive from terminating a war which had so long existed, and which had its origin in ancient prejudices of which his sagacious mind could not but see the fallacy; that his predatory expeditions were unworthy of a respectable Government, and failed in their view of profit, as his equipments always cost more than his successes reimbursed; and that in making peace, he would open to his subjects a field for commercial speculations that would bring wealth to his treasury and respect to the Regency. I used all the argument I could devise, to shew him that his honour and his interest would be advanced by terminating a war which brought only misery to the subjects of both countries. The proposal was stated to arise from my own feelings for the misfortunes of the subjects of two States, both in amity with my Sovereign, and brought to my consideration by his complaint of the sufferings of his people at Palermo. The letter was delivered to the present Dey by the British Consul; he seemed to be particularly attentive to the subject, but said he could give no answer until he had consulted the Divan. They were assembled, and the day following, the Consul had an audience, when the Dey declared his willingness to make peace with Sicily, on condition of the payment of sums of money which were certainly very extravagant. He required a million and a half

of dollars on the conclusion of the treaty; and a tribute equal to that which America pays: the prisoners to be released on both sides. On the Consul stating the impossibility of a country whose finances had suffered from the pressure of the war, paying so large a sum of money, the Dey reduced his demand to a million of dollars, and half the tribute which America now pays. He professed a desire that peace should be settled, but stated that he did not feel that he had the power to agree to it without a pecuniary gratification. His subjects expected it, and it was a condition which could not be dispensed with.

I have now, my Lord Marquess, related to your Excellency what has passed on this subject. The Court of Sicily thus far have had nothing to do with it; they are not engaged in any degree. It was confined to my individual opinion, stated for the purpose, indeed, of discovering his sentiments, because if I could turn them to the advantage of Sicily I should be gratified.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY ROBERT ADAIR, ESQ.

Ocean, at Malta, January 27, 1809.

I have to acknowledge the honour of your Excellency's letter of the 6th instant, informing me that you had concluded a treaty of peace and amity with the Turkish Government, and beg to congratulate your Excellency on the happy termination of your negotiation.

I shall at all times have pleasure in paying every possible regard to your requests or suggestions. No officer is in higher estimation in my mind than Captain Stewart, because I have experienced his ability and judgment wherever he was employed, and know that he is suited to the most important services. With this impression, I shall

be glad to appoint him to a station where he himself will feel confidence.

TO LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR JOHN STUART.

Ocean, at Málta, January 29, 1809.

There was a period, the beginning of November, when a British army in Catalonia would have been extremely beneficial to their cause, when they would by their example and countenance have given a confidence to that people, and, perhaps, have induced them to advance and put a stop to the operations of the enemy against Rosas; but, at the same time, had the Captain-General been as determined in his non-resistance of the enemy, and made as little use of the Spanish troops as he has done, the force that could have been detached from Sicily would not have been sufficient to arrest the enemy. Rosas surrendered, I believe at discretion, on the 5th December. The ships which I had sent to that bay had given them all the assistance in their power; but on the part of the Spanish army, which, between the head quarters at Villa Franca and Rosas, amounted to little less than 30,000 men, no effort whatever was made to raise the siege. The consequence has been, that the French army, composed mostly of Italians, have overrun the country. I have not had any correct account of their operations; but both parties, I understand, have in their turns been defeated and victorious. The last account which Admiral Thornborough had received at Minorca was, that Tarragona was threatened, and the Spaniards determined to defend it.

When I directed Rear-Admiral Martin to proceed to Sicily, in aid of its defence, I did not give him instructions for any distant service, on which the troops might be engaged, as the tenor of your letter of

the 28th October shewed that none such was in contemplation; but, on the contrary, that Sicily required all the force and every security that could be given to its defence. At the same time, my own opinion is, that those threats and menaces of the French General against Sicily were for the purpose of drawing our attention to an object distant from the point of their real operations; and that the reports which have been since circulated are only a continuation of the same system. All the ports in the Adriatic have been examined, and there does not appear, nor ever has there been, in any of them the sign of an armament; and by very good intelligence from Trieste, the Russians are exactly in the same state in which they have been this year past. Three of them are exceedingly rotten, and only the Turkish ship is fit to go to sea. I have heard that it has been proposed to sell them; yet at the time there was a report at Trieste that they were to be fitted for sea, and that Count Tolstoy was gone there to make the necessary arrangements. I thought it likely that this was given out with the view of getting their frigates from Venice before any rupture should take place with France, which is not an improbable event to happen.

I enclose to you, Sir, the copy of a letter from Decrès to Buonaparte, in which he states the number of ships which will be ready at Toulon in a short time, and the measures he proposes for completely manning them.

The first danger which Sicily has to apprehend is, I believe, from that fleet, and the army that may come in it: it is, therefore, absolutely necessary that a squadron should be composed of sufficient force to oppose them. To form such a squadron will require all the ships on this station, which must be collected in due time, excepting only such as may be necessary for the convoy of troops which you

may think proper to send to Catalonia. Whenever this ship is repaired, I shall be impatient to join the squadron; but it would be a great satisfaction to me first to confer with you, Sir; and as I wish also to see Mr. Mellish at Palermo, I purpose going thither when I leave Malta. The winter has been particularly severe at sea. This ship, which I thought a strong one, is quite ruined for present service, and must go to England when the season will admit; and there are near half the small ships of the station under repair in port.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY ROBERT ADAIR, ESQ.

Ocean, at Malta, February 2, 1809.

Your letter of the 18th November having been sent down to Gibraltar, did not reach me until yesterday, and I am very glad that all the impediments which were apprehended at that time from the violent commotions in the Turkish Government have not prevented the success of your negotiation, of which I was informed by your later letter, before the present one came to me. Indeed, from the assurance of Ali Pacha that the negotiation would terminate favourably, I had little doubt of it; for that chieftain is known to have great influence at the Porte, and to be very much engaged in the politics of its internal government. Bairacter was his enemy, and the removal of that person from power did not probably cause delay. The Turks wished, in making peace, to have terms the most favourable to them, and would, no doubt, have been glad to have had compensation for their losses, and their ships returned. They protracted the discussion, in hope to obtain them; but never intended to let you depart from the Dardanelles without concluding a treaty, for which they had for a year past expressed so much

impatience. The suspension of all hostility in the Archipelago during the discussion had my perfect approbation. The Turks had expressed a desire to renew their ancient amity with England, and as nothing could more effectually mark the same disposition in the British Government than a cessation from war while the terms were settling, I gave an order to all ships going to the eastward to that effect. In Captain Stewart's judgment I have such confidence, that I am sure if there had been any thing objectionable in that measure, he would have represented it to your Excellency.

With respect to the protection to be given by us to the Turks in the Archipelago, it cannot be better done than by keeping the enemy's fleet at Toulon in our view. The frigates and small vessels will be frequently coming up with despatches and convoys; but to detach larger ships to the Archipelago is not possible in the present state of the French squadron, which is strong, and daily increasing; while ours, from the severe storms of this winter, has suffered very much, and several of the ships, of which my own is one, are scarcely fit to go to sea.

I wish it were in my power to send you a good account from Spain. In Catalonia every thing seems to have gone wrong since the fall of Rosas. The French are not very numerous; the Spaniards are in considerable force, yet are dispersed and panic-struck whenever the enemy appears; notwithstanding which, I believe the people to be as loyal to their cause as in any part of Spain, but unorganised and ill-conducted. It has very much the appearance of want of integrity in their leaders. All I can do for them is to prevent the communication by sea; and as many ships are allotted to that service as I can spare. The French passed on to Barcelona, without assaulting Gerona, leaving it insulated, as it were, in an enemy's country; and, having dispersed

the Spanish cordon, advanced to Tarragona, before which town they now are, with about 5000 troops, while in Tarragona the Spaniards amount to 14 or 16,000 men. General Vives is superseded in the command; and Reding, who is a Swiss, is now at the head of that army.

TO THE HON. MISS COLLINGWOOD.

Ocean, at Malta, February 5, 1809.

I received your letter, my dearest child, and it made me very happy to find that you and dear Mary were well, and taking pains with your education. The greatest pleasure I have amidst my toils and troubles, is in the expectation which I entertain of finding you improved in knowledge, and that the understanding which it has pleased God to give you both has been cultivated with care and assiduity. Your future happiness and respectability in the world depend on the diligence with which you apply to the attainment of knowledge at this period of your life, and I hope that no negligence of your own will be a bar to your progress. When I write to you, my beloved child, so much interested am I that you should be amiable and worthy of the friendship and esteem of good and wise people, that I cannot forbear to second and enforce the instruction which you receive, by admonition of my own, pointing out to you the great advantages that will result from a temperate conduct and sweetness of manner to all people, on all occasions. It does not follow that you are to coincide and agree in opinion with every ill-judging person; but after shewing them your reason for dissenting from their opinion, your argument and opposition to it should not be tinctured by any thing offensive. Never forget for one moment that you are a gentlewoman; and all your words and all your actions should mark you gentle. I never knew your

mother,—your dear, your good mother,—say a harsh or a hasty thing to any person in my life. Endeavour to imitate her. I am quick and hasty in my temper; my sensibility is touched sometimes with a trifle, and my expression of it sudden as gunpowder: but, my darling, it is a misfortune, which, not having been sufficiently restrained in my youth, has caused me much pain. It has, indeed, given me more trouble to subdue this natural impetuosity, than any thing I ever undertook. I believe that you are both mild; but if ever you feel in your little breasts that you inherit a particle of your father's infirmity, restrain it, and quit the subject that has caused it, until your serenity be recovered. So much for mind and manners; next for accomplishments. No sportsman ever hits a partridge without aiming at it; and skill is acquired by repeated attempts. It is the same thing in every art: unless you aim at perfection, you will never attain it; but frequent attempts will make it easy. Never, therefore, do any thing with indifference. Whether it be to mend a rent in your garment, or finish the most delicate piece of art, endeavour to do it as perfectly as it is possible. When you write a letter, give it your greatest care, that it may be as perfect in all its parts as you can make it. Let the subject be sense, expressed in the most plain, intelligible, and elegant manner that you are capable of. If in a familiar epistle you should be playful and jocular, guard carefully that your wit be not sharp, so as to give pain to any person; and before you write a sentence, examine it, even the words of which it is composed, that there be nothing vulgar or inelegant in them. Remember, my dear, that your letter is the picture of your brains; and those whose brains are a compound of folly, nonsense, and impertinence, are to blame to exhibit them to the contempt of the world, or the pity of their friends. To write a letter with negligence, without proper stops, with crooked lines

and great flourishing dashes, is inelegant: it argues either great ignorance of what is proper, or great indifference towards the person to whom it is addressed, and is consequently disrespectful. It makes no amends to add an apology, for having scrawled a sheet of paper, of bad pens, for you should mend them; or want of time, for nothing is more important to you, or to which your time can more properly be devoted. I think I can know the character of a lady pretty nearly by her hand-writing. The dashers are all impudent, however they may conceal it from themselves or others; and the scribblers flatter themselves with the vain hope, that, as their letter cannot be read, it may be mistaken for sense. I am very anxious to come to England; for I have lately been unwell. The greatest happiness which I expect there, is to find that my dear girls have been assiduous in their learning.

May God Almighty bless you, my beloved little Sarah, and sweet Mary too.

TO J. E. BLACKETT, ESQ.

Ocean, at Sea, February 18, 1809.

I am truly sorry to hear so bad an account of the health of your good brother, and the fears that were entertained for him. I would hope for him, but your letters give me little encouragement, and I already feel for the loss of a good and kind friend. Whenever I land, (if I ever do,) I shall come to a country of strangers, unknowing and unknown to all but my own family. What melancholy changes have taken place since I left home!

I beg of you to take care of late hours and hot rooms. I, who enter into no pleasures, go to no feasts, or festivals, or midnight gambols, have no complaints but those arising from sheer fatigue of spirit. My time is so occupied, that even the common visits of civility

are very inconvenient to me ; and Malta is the most gossiping, gorman-dizing place I ever heard of. The merchants there, who two years since were very little men, from the extension of their trade, the exclusion of all other nations from participating in it, and the ample protection given to their speculations, are become suddenly exceedingly rich. I have heard that some of them have made a hundred thousand pounds, and several from ten to fifteen thousand a year. The ladies, who have so lately emerged from the humblest duties of domestic industry, now vie with each other in all the shining finery of tassel and tinsel, and pass their nights in routs and revels ; their days go for nothing. I just saw enough of it to know that it would not do for me. Neither my health nor my occupations were suited to it, and I declined all invitations. On the 1st of January I wrote to you a short letter, to wish you much happiness and many returns of your birthday. I was then on my way to Malta, with my ship in a very ricketty and bad condition, from an ill-judged experiment which the Surveyors of the Navy were making, in the mode of securing the vessels. Had we met with another gale like that we experienced off Toulon in December, I do not think she would have kept together, but separated, and left every one to take the best care of himself upon a plank. I have written so harshly, but so truly, to the Admiralty and the Navy Board upon this subject, that they may perhaps be displeased with the freedom which I have taken with their plans ; but if it be a means of correcting what to any scientific mind must be obviously wrong, I shall be satisfied, and bear any little resentment to me with patience. I gave my opinions in behalf of England, whose existence depends upon her Navy. Had the French devised a plan for its destruction, they could not have discovered a more effectual one. We have now replaced all the copper bolts with iron ones. Several of the ships have

suffered from the same cause; but this being larger and higher, was injured more.

I never can care enough about Chirton to consider much about it. One thing only interests me, — that no person should be removed from a house or farm, unless his conduct has made him very obnoxious. It is the interest of an old tenant to give a fair rent; and when he does, it is shameful to have him subjected to a higher bidder. I have lived now long enough without wealth to be very indifferent about it; and I hope I may always be comfortable without putting others to difficulty. That Mr. ——— sent me a letter, about a book to be published, which I tucked under the sofa, and it is gone to the winds long since. I suppose he is one of those book-making gentlemen who write their own reveries, and call them histories or anecdotes. There was an account of my life in some Naval Magazine, which vexed me very much; for it related a heap of stuff, that had not the least foundation in truth, and was in many parts exceedingly offensive to me. Here is a Scotsman who has written to inform me that he is about to publish a Memoir of the House of Drummond; and as I am (he says) immediately descended from it, and closely allied by intermarriage, he requests the honour of my support. I shall answer him, that I apprehend his letter must have been intended for some other person, as I have not the honour of being connected, in the most distant degree, with any family or person north of Tweed.

I have lately been negotiating with the Dey of Algiers for a peace with Sicily, and hope that the Ministers will not disapprove of what I have done. The Court of Sicily knew nothing of it; but when I see an opportunity to do a good thing, I do not wait to consult until the season be past. I have brought the Dey to consent to peace on certain conditions; but the Sicilians are very poor things, and though it

would be highly advantageous to them, they will not be able to accomplish it.

I was surprised to see Mr. ——— come out again. They think, when they have served six years at sea, they should be made Lieutenants, and never deem it necessary to qualify themselves. He is a good, quiet young man, and walks about, doing no harm ; but he has no activity in him. Such people become rather pensioners upon the Navy, than officers in it.

I hope they will send out somebody to relieve me. I wish very much to return to England ; and I believe, when I go, every Admiral here will ask to go also.

TO LADY COLLINGWOOD.

Ocean, February 25, 1809.

I so seldom hear from England now, that I scarcely know what is going on in the world. I conclude every body is so occupied with Spanish affairs, that they can think only of them. I have had my share of them, and but very little satisfaction. In Catalonia we have given them all possible assistance : they have not profited much by it. It has been said, that I thought coldly of the Spaniards, and did not give them the credit which is due to a brave and great people. I believe that the sentiment of national honour and devotion to the country is no where to be found in greater purity than in Spain. At the same time, among the people of rank and property, perhaps there are as many who ought not to be trusted ; and when one considers how many years the Prince of the Peace was Minister, and how many people owe their rank and fortune to his favour, it is not to be wondered that many retain their attachment to him. I have done every thing for them in my power. I wished the General, Sir John

Stuart, to send a detachment of his forces to assist them ; but he does not find his army in a state to spare them from the service that may require them in Sicily. I went from Malta to Palermo, where I had long promised myself the pleasure of paying my compliments to the King and Queen, and I gratified a curiosity which had been excited by many strange stories which I had heard. I arrived the day before Ash-Wednesday, the last of the Carnival, when the Queen gave a grand ball and supper to the nobility. I received an invitation as soon as we anchored, and was glad of an opportunity to see all the Court and those far-famed Princesses at once. The King and the Queen received me most graciously. The King has much the appearance and manner of a worthy honest country gentleman. Nature certainly intended him for that state ; but blundering Chance has cast his lot awry. The Queen would appear to be penetrating into the soul and mind of every body that comes near her. She would be thought a deep politician ; yet all her schemes miscarry. She broods over what is impracticable with her little means, and frets herself continually that others are not as dim-sighted as herself. Her lot also has been cast awry, or, in the distribution of stations for this world, so loose a morality and such depravity of manners would never have been found perched upon a throne, from whence should issue the bright example of all that is good and great. The King lives generally in the country, about four miles from the city, where he amuses himself in planting trees and shooting. We dined with him on Sunday at his country-house, and he carried us all over it. It is the prettiest thing that can be ; the rooms not larger than ours at Morpeth, and the house not much bigger. We went over his grounds ; and His Majesty seemed particularly desirous that I should see all his improvements, when I told him that I was a great planter myself. I have

also seen a great deal of the Princesses and Duchesses of Sicily; and all I shall say of them at present is, that the more I see of them, the more I bless my stars that I was born in England, and have got a darling wife who is not a Princess. They were very polite and attentive to me. I believe the Queen was relieved when I took leave of her. They had been told of the opposition which I gave to their son going to Spain, and of many other things also which were not true; and I believe suspected that I had been the cause of Saint Clair being ordered to leave Gibraltar so suddenly, which I was not. I do not know what possessed them on my arrival, but the consternation seemed to be general; and Sir John Stuart having come there to meet me, made an appearance of business of consequence. There was a great alarm and suspicion that we were come to insist on all the French leaving the island; and as most of her favourites are of that nation, I do not wonder at the concern that was very visible. They never desire, I am sure, to see my face again.

TO THE EARL OF MULGRAVE.

Ocean, off Cape Sebastian, March 7, 1809.

The letters which I have written to the Admiralty from Malta, and since, will inform your Lordship of the communication made to me by General Sir John Stuart, that he was instructed to send such a detachment as could be spared from the defence of Sicily to the assistance of the Spaniards in Catalonia, on which I appointed the *Alceste* and a sloop to convey them. From Malta I went to Palermo, to confer with him on the subject of this aid to be sent to Spain. On that occasion I described as fully as was in my power what I believed to be the state of the Spanish army in

Catalonia; that they were more numerous than that of the enemy, who have less than 20,000 men, most of them disaffected Italians; and gave him my opinion, that a small British force, sufficient to give a proper importance to three or four skilful and judicious officers, who should command them,—men who could propose measures to our allies without seeming to dictate or control them, of which they are exceedingly jealous, and who could give to their own plans the semblance of their having originated with the Spaniards,—would by their counsel and example materially aid in the arrangement of the Spanish force, which is already superior in number.

The General, on the other hand, stated the very numerous army which the enemy had in the kingdom of Naples, said to amount to 45,000 men; that any reduction of his force at this time would have the effect of inviting them to invade the island; that the native army was little proportioned to the service that would be required of them, a great part of it, I mean the Prince of Butera's volunteers, being merely nominal; and that he had, moreover, authorised the Sicilian Government to assure that of Vienna, that whenever the Austrian army takes the field, he will make a powerful diversion in the south of Italy. For those considerations, the General determined that it was not expedient to make any detachment from the forces in Sicily. The Court appear to confine all their views to the re-possession of Naples. It is their constant theme; whatever has not that for its immediate object would not be approved; for they do not consider that both the re-possession of Naples, and the maintaining themselves in Sicily, must ultimately depend on putting a stop to the progress of the French power, which can only be done by opposing them where they are in activity and force, and not by waiting until they come to them.

After the taking of Capri they complained that they had not naval protection. I assure your Lordship, that in the distribution of the ships I do every thing in my power, that no important point shall be left unguarded. All the coast and approaches to Sicily have constantly had ships stationed on them : but when they are out of sight, they consider themselves as abandoned : and when they are in port, the enemy is doing what he pleases, unmolested. It would require a squadron in every port to remove all their apprehensions. The ships have suffered much by the violence of the winter, and more of them are at Malta refitting than usual, where every exertion is making to prepare them for sea again. Four frigates, with active and intelligent officers, are employed on the coast of Catalonia, the only place where operations are going on, and their assistance animates the Spaniards.

TO THE SAME.

Ocean, off Minorca, March 16, 1809.

On the 10th we were close in with Toulon, where were thirteen ships of the line (including two Russians), and five frigates in the outer road. The Admiral was bending his sails when we approached, obviously for the show of preparation. I considered this as an indication that they were not in a state to proceed immediately to sea ; and leaving two ships to watch them, came here with the squadron to complete it.

The Spanish ships have been the object of my constant solicitude. Your Lordship will have been informed by Admiral Purvis that those at Cadiz are rigged and armed before this time. I have more anxiety for those at Carthagená. In reply to a letter which Admiral Thornborough wrote to the Spanish Commander when I was

absent, he said that the preparing and mooring the ships depended on orders which the Supreme Junta must give. I have written to Mr. Frere, at Seville, submitting to him the necessity of urging this point with the Government, and that they will order those ships to be removed without delay to Cadiz or Algeziras. They would be better in any port than Carthagena, as, from information I got last summer of the disposition of the higher orders of people in that part of Spain, I have entertained an opinion not favourable to them; and from this suspicion the officers of the Navy are not exempt.

On my arrival off this island, the Elvin brig joined the squadron, and brought me the intelligence of the French ships having sailed from Brest. If they come into this sea, they may, on the supposition that the English fleet is off Toulon, proceed directly to Sicily, which is the great object of the French in the Mediterranean. But until I have some intelligence, I must not leave this quarter; for these Islands are defenceless, and would be reduced by a small force. Most of the Spanish troops are withdrawn from them, and they are left to the protection of an ill-appointed militia, of which the portion allotted to the defence of Minorca is 84 men. The Junta have applied for a British military force, which cannot be given to them: they have no confidence in their chiefs, and state that a number of disaffected and ill-disposed persons are amongst them. The Captain-General Cuesta is little respected amongst the people; and if he be faithful to his Country's cause, he has no energy. The Governor at Minorca is considered as completely attached to the French interest. It seems very extraordinary that the Spanish Government should continue in important situations men whose character and attachment to the enemy seem to be generally known.

TO THE EARL OF MULGRAVE.

Ocean, March 22, 1809.

I have received the medal for Captain Stewart, of the Sea-horse, and shall have great pleasure in presenting to that gallant and meritorious officer this distinguished mark of His Majesty's approbation of his conduct. Last week I sent the *Halcyon* to Algiers, to propose to the Dey a cessation of hostilities with Sicily, and that Ministers should be appointed to treat of the terms on which peace and friendship should be established. She is returned, and brought me the account of another revolution in that Government; the Dey, who had ruled about four months, with his Ministers and adherents, being put to death on the 4th instant. The newly-created Dey received my proposal favourably, and expressed his desire to be at peace with the friends and allies of the King; and has sent me a passport for a Sicilian Minister to go to Algiers to treat of the conditions. I shall send it to Sicily, but I doubt whether it will ever be used.

25th.—Mr. Mellish has informed me, in a letter which I received to-day, of the proposals which have been lately made, on one side and the other, by the Courts of Vienna and London. I have stated, in my letter to the Admiralty of the 22d, what my apprehensions on this subject are,—that the preparation of Austria has been enough to ensure to them the hostility of the French, but too late to make any useful diversion for the Spaniards, who are tardy and languid every where in the greatest degree. The burst of enthusiasm which inspired the common people at first, seems greatly to have evaporated, and I doubt whether there is any other power in Spain. Nothing could be so ill-advised as sending the French prisoners to these islands. They were in imminent danger before; this measure will

ensure their loss. In Catalonia, the applications for supplies are unlimited,—they want money, arms, and ammunition, of which no use appears to be made when they get them. The works at Tarragona are in bad repair, and they remain so; the guns on the ramparts, old and ill mounted, while in the town they have abundance of cannon in no situation for use; their army is numerous, above twenty thousand, while the French, in their neighbourhood, do not amount to ten. In the English papers I see accounts of successes, and convoys cut off and waggons destroyed, which are not true. What has been done in that way has been by the boats of our frigates, which have, in two or three instances, landed men, and attacked the enemy with great gallantry. The Simotines range the hills in a disorderly way, and fire at a distance, but retire on being approached. This state of things made me anxious that a body of English, however small, conducted by intelligent and temperate officers, should have been sent, in hopes that their presence and example might have animated the Country. It was an experiment, in my own view of it,—for even of the success of that I was not sanguine. They have sent to Sicily and Malta to crave supplies; at both places they have received arms, while they make little use of those they have, and I fear they will all fall into the hands of the enemy very soon. The want of money is their constant complaint; while at Cadiz, I am told, they have more than twenty-five millions of dollars. There is little communication, and no concert, between the provinces, nor even between towns that are twenty miles apart. Your Lordship may judge what my feelings are at a prospect at present so dreary. What change may be effected by the part Austria is taking, will depend on their success, and even that will be vain if it be not soon.

TO J. E. BLACKETT, ESQ.

Ocean, Port Mahon, March 25, 1809.

I have had nothing but distresses and disappointments; misfortunes proceeding from the very violent weather which we have experienced, and disappointments in the languor and want of energy that appear amongst the Spaniards. Unless a great revolution take place in that Country, which I do not expect, it is lost, and the liberal aid which we have given them will not save it from falling under the domination of France. I am sure I have exerted myself truly; but I do not possess power of mind to conduct so arduous a machine as the public service is now become. I give all my time and all my strength to it, from daylight until midnight, often borrowing an hour or two of the next day, and have scarce time to eat my scanty dinner. I am worn out, and wish to retire from it; but it seems that I must not; and my greatest fear is, that my unfitness will grow upon me. His Majesty is kind to me, and rewards me beyond my desert. It is only my desire to do what is best, that gives me any claim to his royal regard. The appointment to the Marines is very flattering to me, because, of many candidates, he gave it to me who was not a candidate, and never have asked for any thing pecuniary or for myself. The *Ville de Paris* is coming out to me, when I shall send this ship to England, as she has suffered greatly in the severe gales that we have had in the winter; on which subject I have said so much, that I am afraid I shall be out of the good books of the Surveyors of the Navy.

TO THE EARL OF MULGRAVE.

Ocean, Minorca, March 26, 1809.

I have just received the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 3d January, by the Minstrel, and beg to express to your Lordship the extreme gratification I feel at the manner in which you are pleased to express your estimation of my service. My cares and best judgment have ever been given to my duty, and while I have health they ever will. I have no object in life that I put in competition with it; but the failure of my strength made me apprehensive that I could not long continue the exertions which are necessary. I lament the death of Lord Gardner exceedingly. His worth, both in his public station and in private life, obtained for him the high respect and esteem of the Country and his friends. His Majesty's goodness, in having been graciously pleased to appoint me his Lordship's successor, as Major-General of the Marines, awakens in me the warmest gratitude to the King for this highly honourable distinction, and to your Lordship for the very flattering terms in which you have been pleased to notify it to me.

Admiral Martin has informed me that he has applied to the Admiralty for leave to return to England. He will be a great loss to me; for he is a most intelligent officer, temperate and conciliating,—qualities that are always necessary, and for which the present state of our affairs particularly call. As your Lordship has given me permission to name to you the officers whom I would prefer, I will beg to say, if Sir Samuel Hood could be spared from other service, and he himself liked it, I should think myself very fortunate.

I have written to your Lordship pretty fully on the affairs of Spain; but I must repeat my apprehensions that His Majesty's

Ministers think better of them than their real state deserves. All exertion in the eastern part of Spain has disappeared, though they still crave for stores and money, which would only fall into the enemy's hands.

TO REAR-ADMIRAL PURVIS.

Ocean, Minorca, March 26, 1809.

You observe the anxiety which Ministers have that the Spanish ships should not, in any event, fall into the hands of the enemy; and to prevent this, in case of affairs going to extremity in Spain, will require much delicacy of conduct and skill: but it cannot be in better hands than yours. Repeated demands and requests to them to move the ships into the Bay, (where, indeed, they ought to be, for the defence of the town,) tend to create a jealousy of us, and a suspicion that we have sinister views. The enemy has emissaries every where to fabricate stories which are not true, and draw conclusions from them which will tend to increase their apprehensions; and I am afraid that they have been much assisted in making this impression by the appearance of our troops at Cadiz, and the proposal for their landing. We knew before how averse they were to this measure, and I am rather sorry that it was pressed upon them.

Every thing should be done to give the Spaniards that perfect confidence in us which the honourable part we have taken in their affairs deserves: and the manner of doing it should afford as little argument as possible for the advocates of the enemy. They are present every where, and in the Spanish Navy more numerous than in any other department. I think Mr. Frere should know, or demand, from the Supreme Junta, what is their ultimate plan in the event of complete subjugation. Do they mean to embark in their fleet, and go

to America, taking all the loyal Spaniards and their property to a new establishment? or do they mean, when resistance is no longer possible, to make the best terms they can. In the first case, the town of Cadiz would be the rendezvous of all who fled from the tyranny of the usurper. Cadiz should be made impregnable, and the ships placed so as to defend and be defended by it. Whatever will inspire them with perfect confidence in us should be done. It is their cause, in which we have no interest but their success. If, on the contrary, they have not determined to seek an asylum in America, but, in the case of Spain lost (which God forbid), prepare to make those evils as little ruinous to them as they can, and save from the wreck their unhappy lives, to swell the triumph of the tyrant, and be the reproach of the world, they will keep their fleet out of reach in the Carracas, in order to appease the violence to which they will have to submit. The officers of the Navy will, I believe, join most cordially in the latter scheme.

By what they do at present we may understand what is their intention for the future. If they adopt the plan of securing the fleet, by bringing them down to the town, it may be concluded that they intend to preserve them from the enemy, for their own use in defence, or for emigration. If they pertinaciously keep them at the Carracas or Puntal, it can only be with a view of making better terms for themselves.

This view of their conduct should direct us in ours. If they bring their ships to the Bay, we should do all for them we can,—if they keep them up the Puntal, it is not for Spanish purposes, and we should do as little for them as can be, without betraying suspicion. We may find that, at last, all our cares and expense—all your zeal and anxiety, have been to fit a fleet to fall into the hands of the enemy.

I am very desirous that the Junta should give orders for the ships at Carthagena to be removed from thence. To Algeziras is best, but Cadiz better than Carthagena; and that you send two ships to assist this work. Captain Donnelly is an active, able officer; but, above all things, what is required in our intercourse with the Spaniards is temper and forbearance. As our efforts are purely to assist them in maintaining the independence of their Country, they should have no reason to suspect that any other object existed; and if Captain Donnelly be patient, as he is qualified in every other respect, I think he would be a proper officer to go there.

The Junta must send their directions, or nothing will be done. Our officers should manage to make the tenor of those orders known among the sailors, who abhor the French, and they will oblige their officers to act. I hope I shall see the *Ville de Paris* soon, and such other ships as can be spared from your service. I do not know how much I shall have to do soon. I hope a great deal.

TO LADY COLLINGWOOD.

Ville de Paris, Minorca, April 10, 1809.

It is not long since I wrote to you; since which a continuation of bad weather has brought the *Ocean* back almost to the state in which she was before her repair. I got near this island for shelter, and the *Ville de Paris* came to me. My habitation is soon changed. I have been in this ship four or five days, and like her very much; but all ships that sail well and are strong are alike to me; I see little of them, seldom moving from my desk. The Admiralty have been exceedingly kind and attentive to me; they have sent me the best ship in the Navy, and have reinforced my squadron; but what I most want is a new pair of legs and a new

pair of eyes. My eyes are very feeble; my legs and feet swell so much every day, that it is pretty clear they will not last long. I am only afraid my Fleet, too, will drop off suddenly, for we have many here who are much worn. ——— was sent out again, poor thing, with all his infirmities. It makes my heart ache. The object, I suppose, is, that I should make him a Lieutenant, which I never will do, and that he may have an annuity and a livelihood on the naval establishment: but my duty is to seek officers capable of doing the service of the Country, and none others must expect advancement from me.

TO HIS DAUGHTERS.

Ville de Paris, Minorca, April 17, 1809.

I received both your kind letters, and am much obliged for your congratulations on my being appointed Major-General of Marines. The King is ever good and gracious to me; and I dare say you both feel that gratitude to His Majesty which is due from us all, for the many instances of his favour which he has bestowed on me, and, through me, on you. Endeavour, my beloved girls, to make yourselves worthy of them, by cultivating your natural understandings with care. Seek knowledge with assiduity, and regard the instruction of Mrs. Moss, when she explains to you what those qualities are which constitute an amiable and honourable woman. God Almighty has impressed on every breast a certain knowledge of right and wrong, which we call conscience. No person ever did a kind, a benevolent, a humane, or charitable action, without feeling a consciousness that it was good: it creates a pleasure in the mind that nothing else can produce; and this pleasure is the greater, from the act which causes it being veiled from the eye of the world. It is

the delight such as angels feel when they wipe away the tear from affliction, or warm the heart with joy. On the other hand, no person ever did or said an ill-natured, an unkind, or mischievous thing, who did not, in the very instant, feel that he had done wrong. This kind of feeling is a natural monitor, and never will deceive if due regard be paid to it; and one good rule, which you should ever bear in mind, and act up to as much as possible, is, never to say any thing which you may afterwards wish unsaid, or do what you may afterwards wish undone.

The education of a lady, and, indeed, of a gentleman too, may be divided into three parts; all of great importance to their happiness, but in different degrees. The first part is the cultivation of the mind, that they may have a knowledge of right and wrong, and acquire a habit of doing acts of virtue and honour. By reading history you will perceive the high estimation in which the memories of good and virtuous people are held; the contempt and disgust which are affixed to the base, whatever may have been their rank in life. — The second part of education is to acquire a competent knowledge how to manage your affairs, whatever they may happen to be; to know how to direct the economy of your house; and to keep exact accounts of every thing which concerns you. Whoever cannot do this must be dependent on somebody else, and those who are dependent on another cannot be perfectly at their ease. I hope you are both very skilful in arithmetic, which, independently of its great use to every body in every condition of life, is one of the most curious and entertaining sciences that can be conceived. The characters which are used, the 1, 2, 3, are of Arabic origin; and that by the help of these, by adding them, by subtracting or dividing

them, we should come at last to results so far beyond the comprehension of the human mind without them, is so wonderful, that I am persuaded that if they were of no real use, they would be exercised for mere entertainment; and it would be a fashion for accomplished people, instead of cakes and cards at their routs, to take coffee and a difficult question in the rule of three, or extracting the square root.—The third part is, perhaps, not less in value than the others. It is how to practise those manners and that address which will recommend you to the respect of strangers. Boldness and forwardness are exceedingly disgusting, and such people are generally more disliked the more they are known; but, at the same time, shyness and bashfulness, and the shrinking from conversation with those with whom you ought to associate, are repulsive and unbecoming.

There are many hours in every person's life which are not spent in any thing important; but it is necessary that they should not be passed idly. Those little accomplishments, as music and dancing, are intended to fill up the hours of leisure, which would otherwise be heavy on you. Nothing wearies me more than to see a young lady at home, sitting with her arms across, or twirling her thumbs, for want of something to do. Poor thing! I always pity her, for I am sure her head is empty, and that she has not the sense even to devise the means of pleasing herself. By a strict regard to Mrs. Moss's instruction you will be perfected in all I recommend to you, and then how dearly shall I love you! May God bless you both, my dearest children.

TO THE EARL OF MULGRAVE.

Ville de Paris, Minorca, April 21, 1809.

The transports having the French prisoners on board are arrived off the port from Cadiz, which has caused the greatest consternation among the inhabitants, who consider their introduction as the prelude to their subjugation. They have no means of securing them; the only place they could confine them in being the Lazaretto, and that is already occupied by the sick from Tarragona. They have not a soldier on the island, and the only guard is about 80 of the Majorca militia, mere peasants.

The Governor has received about 400, whom he has put on the Hospital Island, and I propose leaving the Grasshopper to guard them, until the Spanish Government finds some place of safety to put them in.

It was certainly inconsiderate in the Junta at Seville to send them to those islands where they knew there were no troops; but the eastern provinces do not profit by their regard. Catalonia and Valencia are exceedingly destitute of every necessary for war; the troops are without clothes, with little pay, and the Generals complain of want of money or means to better their condition. I have written to the Junta of Majorca and to the Captain-General Cuesta, to afford relief and security to this island; but it has much the appearance of a determination to turn the islands over to the French, for the prisoners seem to be of every rank and class necessary to form an army. There are two Generals among them, and about 500 officers of every description.

I have just received a letter from Captain Mundy, who is off Barcelona: he informs me, that on the first of this month the army

of General St. Cyr, consisting of 8000 men, mostly Italians, left Barcelona, and took the route to Granolles, leaving about 3000 in Barcelona; so that the whole French army in that part of Catalonia does not appear to have exceeded 12 or 14,000, while the Spaniards have always been stated at between 20 and 30,000, yet were constantly retiring before the French. I mention this to your Lordship as a proof how much the Spaniards want direction. The multitudes of men which appear in their accounts do not make a force.

As soon as the wind will admit of the squadron getting out of this port, I shall proceed off Toulon, where the weather still continues very boisterous. It has been an unusual season. The Sultan returned from thence yesterday, having suffered much from the severity of the winds, which are still like January.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY ROBERT ADAIR, ESQ.

Ville de Paris, Mahon, April 25, 1809.

The steps which your Excellency has taken to promote the establishment of peace between the Sublime Porte and Russia were certainly an indication of the desire which the British Government entertained to diminish the misfortunes of war, and, as far as circumstances allowed, tended to introduce a correspondence of which the tone was friendly, and from which might have arisen the most beneficial results. The Russian Government seems to have considered otherwise, and rather angrily resented it, as the interference of their enemy with a negotiation in which they were engaged; and the demand which they made of the Porte, that your Excellency should depart from the Capital, was rather an intemperate expression of that resentment. I think they did not expect it to be regarded, and perhaps did not wish it; for I suspect that the connexion of Russia

with France is on the wane. I think this probable, because it was not founded on the mutual interests of the respective Countries, but on the display of power, which could effect much mischief on the one hand, and of fear and the apprehension of that mischief on the other. Connexions so formed never can endure longer than the cause exists; and it is to be hoped, that in the change which has taken place in the States of Europe, the cause of Russia's fears has already diminished, and will soon totally expire; when she will naturally fall again into the arms of her ancient friends, and the Emperor pursue the obvious interests of his Country, if he be not prevented by new causes of fear, prepared for him on our part. In that case, he will only have the choice between two evils,—instead of abandoning an oppressive ill, to adopt a supreme good. The sending a Minister to treat with the Porte, without the concurrence of the French Government, the part the Emperor is said to have taken in the affairs of the King of Prussia, in defiance of France, and the whole conduct that is attributed to him, tend to encourage the expectation that the connexion, for I would not call it friendship, will last no longer than the necessity of his affairs required.

With this view of the present circumstances of Russia, I should, with great submission to your judgment and experience in this subject, and diffidence of my opinion upon it, be led to doubt the expediency of any measure which might irritate and gall Russia at this moment; and leaving the path of reconciliation and peace open to her, I would lay no obstacle in her way to approach us.

I cannot form the smallest idea of the utility that could be derived from the occupation of Cerigo, or any of the little islands in the Archipelago. It would require a certain number of troops, who must be fed by provisions brought to them. The few French who

are there have been in a starving condition ever since they went, and clamorous to be saved by being withdrawn. The garrison would require a squadron to protect them, and the services of squadron and garrison would be limited to the taking care of each other. There is not a port at Cerigo, and a very indifferent anchorage. It could have no control over what is done in the other islands: the ships must do that service, and they can better attend to it when not embarrassed by a settlement, which, of itself, must be totally helpless.

TO J. E. BLACKETT, ESQ.

Ville de Paris, off Toulon, May 4, 1809.

I am writing this letter in a very severe storm, which shakes the ship to her keel, and am just recovering from a very great disappointment. I was at Port Mahon, driven there by the extreme bad weather, which reduced the poor Ocean to almost as bad a state as she was in last winter. This ship came to me, and I changed. The frigates were watching the enemy. When the ships were complete, and we were under sail from the harbour, I received a message from the Spanish Governor, to inform me that a squadron of the enemy's ships had appeared before Barcelona four days before. I was confident I should have them, and steered a course to meet them on their return. The day following we took two French ships, with invalid soldiers brought from Barcelona, and from them we heard that their ships of war had returned to Toulon. We had crossed their route about ten hours after they had passed; and on going to Toulon, the day following, I found they had arrived. I have an artful, deceptive, and timid foe to deal with. They are as secret as the night, and ingenious in devices;

yet my perseverance may at last avail me. My constant study is how to counteract them, and I hope that my good fortune will one day be predominant. I would rather die any how than with grief and disappointment.

The Spanish Patriots (as they are called in England) are gone to ruin. In my prospect of Spanish affairs, from the beginning, I have not been mistaken. Their country is without government, their armies without Generals; the only classes who are and have been true to the cause which all talked of, were the priests and the people,—they are brave, love their country, and detest the French. They would defend it; but, wanting a government, (for the Junta is nothing) and leaders to organise their force, what can they do? Nothing but a popular insurrection, general through the country, can give them a chance,—and that I fear would be small. The people of property are generally wanting in integrity; and when we consider how little of public virtue is to be found any where, why should we expect it in Spain? From Sicily, and indeed from every quarter, I have demands for assistance; and were I to comply with them, I should divide my squadron till none of its parts would be equal to the contest when it arrives. We should have ships every where, but a force no where.

TO THE EARL OF MULGRAVE.

Ville de Paris, off Minorca, May 5, 1809.

The success of the French in getting a supply of provisions into Barcelona, and the escape of their squadron afterwards, have given me very great concern: but the catching them in those short expeditions must always be a thing of chance, as they will always take opportunities most favourable to them, and

which it is not possible to prevent from occurring. They eluded the watch of two very vigilant ships, the *Unité* and *Cambrian*; and the first intelligence I had of them was from Tarragona, and in so short a time after their appearance off Barcelona, that I had the greatest expectation of meeting them on their return; but they were fortunate in winds, and got in before we arrived on the route they took.

I enclose to your Lordship the proposals and demands of Ali Pacha of Albania. I have, on a former occasion, stated to your Lordship what I had been able to collect of the character of that Vizier. Before he got the cannon, &c. which were necessary for the attack of Parga, nothing else was represented to be wanting,—his army was numerous, his power great; he waited only for our concluding peace with the Porte, to declare his alliance with England; and for the arrival of the cannon from Malta, to begin his operations against the French. The peace is concluded, and he has got his cannon, and now he reveals overtures which have been made to him by the French, which he doubtless means should be considered as the cause why he suspends hostilities against them. But he makes amends for that, by proposing to extend the scale of the war. This will require an increase of aid in money, cannon, and stores; and he has now the advantage of a British Agent at his Capital, which greatly facilitates the transmission of his requests. Your Lordship, who can better judge of Ali Pacha's political character and importance, and the dependence that may be placed in his integrity to us, will estimate these observations truly.

The affairs of the Spaniards in this quarter are such as can only excite grief and sorrow. There does not appear to be any government in the country that extends to Catalonia, and the people complain

of the little assistance which they receive from the Supreme Junta. The Generals who have commanded their army in Catalonia at different periods, seem to have been selected so as to ensure the failure of the cause. Vives was a dependent of the Prince of the Peace; Reding, who succeeded him, was brave and active; but his talents, I am told, were limited. He could not direct combined operations, and was totally ignorant of what was not in his view. He wore himself with fatigue, and died lately of a fever. The command has devolved on General Coupigny, who is old and infirm, and with a mind partaking of the inactivity of his body. The French are at present at Vich, plundering that town; and the Spaniards, at or near Tarragona, lamenting it. The Samotines are the only people who give constant opposition to the enemy; but they are few in number, and irregular in their attacks. The vigour of the people, and their attachment to the cause, are perhaps undiminished; but every attempt to organise them fails, probably because it is undertaken by those who are incompetent to the task. The priests and their dependents, at Montserrat, have repulsed every attack of the enemy. It is their property they fight for; but most of the people of Spain are endeavouring to save theirs by not fighting. Such, my Lord, is represented to me to be the state of the eastern provinces, and truly sorry I am that I cannot give a more favourable account of them.

TO LORD AMHERST.

Ville de Paris, off Toulon, May 25, 1809.

I have received the honour of your Lordship's letter by the Porcupine, and congratulate you on your arrival at

Palermo, at a period which appears to me particularly important, as the Austrians have taken the field, the war against France has commenced, and the fate of Sicily and of Europe depends on the success of their arms. The great object, then, of all who hope for emancipation from the French power, will be to give every aid, and make such diversion with their forces, as will favour the enterprises of the Austrian armies.

I have sent a powerful squadron into the Adriatic, to act in co-operation with them, to prevent the army of Dalmatia from passing into Italy by sea, and to protect the transport of our allies to points where their force is most wanted. A division of that squadron is acting in aid of the Pacha of Albania, if he has undertaken, or will proceed in, any attack against the French possessions. Two ships of war are upon the coast of the Papal territory, where, on the supposition that the small garrisons which the French had upon that coast will be withdrawn to join the army, the Commanders are ordered to land, alarm the country, and destroy the cannon which defend the coast. This I meant to draw the attention of the enemy to points distant from where I supposed the British forces from Sicily would make a descent. Two other ships are on the Tuscan coast for the same purpose, and, by opening a communication with the inhabitants, to endeavour to discover their disposition, and what part they will take, if the success of the Austrians open to them an opportunity of expelling the French. I do not expect that they will take any measures, however well disposed they may be, until an army shall enter their country. What the dispositions of the Neapolitans are, is yet to be proved by experience: your Lordship will obtain much information of them at Palermo. The Queen has always maintained

a sort of correspondence with a party there. Of their integrity, or importance in the state, I am uninformed; but nothing has come to my knowledge that gives me any confidence in them.

On the Spanish affairs in this quarter I can make no 'favourable communication to your Lordship. The most destructive languor seems to prevail amongst them. They have no leader to conduct the war; and General St. Cyr is marching over the country, with a small body of troops, laying it under contribution, and plundering it without opposition. There are not more than 3000 men at Barcelona and the fortresses. Twice have plans been concerted with our Commanders on the coast for seizing the garrison of the town and citadel by night;—the ships went in, performed their part by making the attack upon the batteries, but no Spaniard moved. They are loud in their complaints of the neglect of the Supreme Junta in not giving them support, and sending them supplies of arms: at the same time, I am informed that arms, which were sent to them from England, are sold at Tarragona. Several, which had been bought there, were lately found in a vessel at Gibraltar. The destruction of the enemy's fleet at Rochefort will enable them soon to send a great number of seamen to their fleet in Toulon, of whom they are at present much in want.

TO F. PETRUCCI, ESQ.

Ville de Paris, off Toulon, May 26, 1809.

I have only at this time received your letter of the 30th of September last, enclosing to me those which were addressed to Lord Hawkesbury from the Pacha of Egypt and Mahomed Elfi Bey, with the proposals and alliances which those Chieftains offer to the consideration of His Majesty's Ministers; and

your opinion of the great advantage which would result to England from the acceptance of them.

Having transmitted those papers to Government, I shall forbear to make any comment on the subject of them, further than this, — that it has ever been his Majesty's most anxious desire to maintain peace and friendship with all nations, and that from the time of the rupture of the long-existing harmony between England and the Sublime Porte, he has sought to restore the former good understanding and the relations of friendship by all honourable means. As the proposals contained in the letters of the Pacha and of Elfi Bey, although diametrically contrary in their tenor, both have for their object the establishment of a power which shall be independent of the Sublime Porte, now our friend and ally, I can say nothing more on this subject than that I am confident that the good faith and integrity of the British Government will never be swayed by supposed motives of interest; and that when Sovereigns seek and obtain the friendship of His Majesty, every subject of their States is included within the contract and duties of peace. I must, therefore, desire that you will not speak in the name of England one language to His Highness the Pacha, and another and different one to Mahomed Elfi Bey.

TO THE ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCE

SCIAHAN BEY, EMIR ELLOCK, MAHOMED ELFI,

Valorous and bold, faithful to his Friends, and terrible to his
Enemies, health and prosperity.

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCE,

I have received the letter which your Excellency sent to me by the means of your trusty friend, Mr. F. Petrucci,

together with the proposals which you have made to the British Government. From the treaty of peace which His Majesty concluded with the Sublime Porte, your Excellency will perceive that there exists a new state of affairs since your letter was written; and His Majesty having re-established that alliance with the Ottoman Government, which had been suspended for a time by the intrigues of France, can now only consider how best the relations of sincere friendship are to be maintained, and the happiness and interests of the faithful subjects of the Sublime Porte advanced, as they are connected with their due dependence on the Supreme Government.

The Beys of Egypt, and particularly your great predecessor, Elfi Bey, have at all times enjoyed the friendly regard of the British nation, and it was with high satisfaction that it saw them in enjoyment of that dignity and splendour which attach to illustrious characters, and at once strengthen and adorn the Government of which they are members. The only danger to which the integrity of the Sublime Porte and its dependencies were exposed, arose from the ambitious projects of France; and it was to oppose those projects, and the artful intrigues of her agents, that the British council and arms were engaged, even at a period when the French had got such an influence at Constantinople as to suspend the friendly intercourse between our countries. In the present case, your Excellency will not think it necessary that the supplies which you requested should be sent to you, as there does not appear any immediate danger from your greatest enemies, the French, who have now full occupation in the war with Austria.

TO THE EARL OF MULGRAVE.

Ville de Paris, off Toulon, June 16, 1809.

Your Lordship will be informed by the despatches to the Admiralty, that in the Adriatic the frigates have been very actively employed, and have destroyed a great number of the enemy's vessels. If the Russian ships sail from Trieste, I do not think they can escape from our squadron; but unless that nation takes a part against Austria, the ships will probably remain where they are. Their officers profess to be averse to any co-operation with the French. The Russian Commodore told the Governor of Trieste, that while he received orders from Paris, he did not think his ships seaworthy; but were they to come from Russia, and direct him to join the English, he would be ready the next day.

I have not heard from Captain Hargood since he arrived in the Adriatic, but am well assured he will make no delay. At Corfu the French are distressed for want of provisions, as five vessels have lately been taken or destroyed, laden with grain, &c. for that island. The people there are impatient of the government of the French; but I do not believe that any amelioration of their condition can be obtained for them without a military force, not only to expel the French, but to control the parties among themselves while they are fixing a government. They have an English party, many of whom are at Malta, and promise much; and a French party, which remains in the islands; so that their number and power are less known. All are agreed that their former Government was in improper hands, ill administered, and required much reform; but none are agreed who should succeed to power, on the re-establishment of the Republic. The French are so few in the

smaller islands, that they might expel them, but for the existing parties; and they know that it would be but exchanging an oppressive Government for anarchy and, perhaps, civil commotion. Some of their people at Constantinople have struck the French colours in their ships, and hoisted those of the Republic. I cannot see how their cause is to be advanced by that measure: it is merely an expression of attachment to their former Government, which before was not doubted; but the real interests of their Country are rather embarrassed by it, inasmuch as they quit a situation in which they could have supported them, and probably will subject those who remain to more severe restrictions.

I beg to mention to your Lordship that many of the ships must necessarily return to England soon, being leaky and in ill condition; and having mentioned the ships, I am sorry to add, that the Commanders also suffer from the almost unremitted service at sea. Admiral Thornborough has for some time past been falling into an ill state of health, and I am much afraid must apply to your Lordship for relief. The state of Captain Bennett and Captain Inglis alarms me very much. Lord Henry Paulett received material injury from a fall which he had in a gale of wind; he does not complain, but it is obvious that his general health has suffered greatly. I mention these circumstances because I am sure your Lordship will regard the condition of those officers as much as is consistent with the public service.

TO LADY COLLINGWOOD.

Ville de Paris, off Toulon, June 17, 1809.

I am writing you a letter, my love, because there is nothing I so much delight in as a little communication with her on

whom my heart for ever dwells. How this letter is to go to you, I know not. I never hear from your world, and cannot tell whether any thing from ours ever reaches you; but I take the chance of sending you my blessing. I am pretty well in health, but have fatigue enough; nothing that is pleasurable ever happens to me. I have been lamenting our ill luck in not meeting the French ships the only time, perhaps, that they will shew themselves out of port for the summer; but it was not to be avoided; they never come out but with good assurance of being safe. Now that the French fleet is destroyed at Rochefort, they may surely select some officer to relieve me, for I am sadly worn. Tough as I have been, I cannot last much longer. I have seen all the ships and men out two or three times. Bounce and I seem to be the only personages who stand our ground. Many about me are yielding to the fatigue and confinement of a life which is certainly not natural to man, and which I have only borne thus far from a patient submission to my duty, and a natural desire to execute the duties of my profession as long as I was able, without regard to any personal satisfaction. The only comfort I have is to hear from you.

TO LIEUT.-GEN. SIR JOHN STEWART.

Ville de Paris, off Toulon, June 21, 1809.

I hope the time is now arrived when the operations of the army under your command will be attended with the most decisive benefits to the general cause of Europe. I believe I informed you, in a former letter, that I had sent ships, in small divisions, to annoy the coasts of Italy, and draw the attention of the enemy from the points where the British army were supposed to be intended to act. On the Roman and Tuscan coasts, where they have landed,

they have found the country without troops; and every information stated that most of the regular forces had marched to the north. The kingdom of Naples will naturally engage your first attention; but it is a subject for consideration, whether that State will not be most surely subdued by giving, in the first instance, all possible support and countenance to the operations of the Austrians. On their success must depend the ultimate fate of Italy. If they be successful, Italy will certainly be restored and secured to its legitimate Sovereigns. If Austria fail, no temporary possession of Naples can be of use, and its only effect would be to increase the misfortunes of those who are loyally attached to their Sovereign. In this view of circumstances, the first consideration appears to be, how we may best ensure the success of Austria, and whether an undertaking nearer the field of the Archduke John's operations would not tend to establish it. The coasts of Tuscany are open; and from Trieste I was informed that the intended movements of the Austrians were to be to Romagna; and application was made to the squadron there for assistance in transporting a body of troops to Rimini and Pésaro. Your Excellency will doubtless have been informed whether that project was executed. If it was, the possession of Florence would loosen Tuscany from its bondage, and the few troops in Leghorn would have no means of supporting themselves. You mention the intention of possessing the island of Ischia. I cannot say that I perceive the advantage which would result from our having any of those islands. They are useful to the Power that possesses Naples, but not to any other. Whatever the movement of the army may be, I shall carefully attend to it, and use my utmost endeavours that no assistance shall be wanting which can be derived from naval co-operation.

TO HIS IMPERIAL HIGHNESS

THE ARCHDUKE JOHN OF AUSTRIA.

Ville de Paris, June 22, 1809.

The letter which your Imperial Highness did me the honour to write on the 20th April, is only at this time come to me. The perfect satisfaction which I have felt at the re-establishment of that friendly correspondence which the British nation has ever desired to maintain with Austria, and on which the most important interests of both nations so much depend, is much increased by the detail of the successes of the Austrian army under your Imperial Highness's command. Your Highness will have been informed of the arrival of a powerful squadron in the Adriatic. When advice was brought to me from Malta, that little doubt remained of Austria engaging in the war against France, to oppose the violation of the rights of nations, and to rescue Europe from the degradation under which she was suffering, I lost no time in sending a squadron of ships of the line, with a number of smaller vessels, and gave to their Commanders instructions to co-operate with the Austrians, protect the coasts of the Empire, and give all the assistance to the operations of His Imperial Majesty's arms that is due to the friend and ally of my Sovereign. Your Imperial Highness may depend upon the vigilance of the officers whom I have sent on that service; and I entreat that you will be pleased to give instructions to the Governor of Trieste and the officers employed near the coast, that they will communicate with Captain Hargood, who commands the English squadron, and point out in what manner he can best assist the Austrian army in its operations.

TO REAR-ADMIRAL SOTHEY.

Ville de Paris, off Toulon, June 30, 1809.

I was very glad to receive a letter from you, from whom I have not heard for a long time indeed. I hope you continue in good health, and are as happy as an amiable Lady and all the comforts of England can make you. It would be a great pleasure to me to serve your nephew, and to have an opportunity of obliging you; but the truth is, that I have no opportunity to promote any one, from year to year. The chances are as rare as the appearance of comets; and some of the same officers who were with me in the *Sovereign*, are still here, waiting in hope of promotion. All vacancies, but those made by death, are filled by the Admiralty; and people are loath to die, and manage to live on very comfortably; though I shall myself make a vacancy soon, for I am worn threadbare of constitution.

The French have a good squadron here; thirteen sail of them and seven frigates are quite ready, and appear to be deep in the water. I have from nine to eleven, and one frigate. It is all I can keep up, but it must do, and I shall bless the day when we may try what it can do. We are carrying on our operations in the Adriatic and on the coast of Italy with great *éclat*. All our frigate Captains are great Generals, and some in the brigs are good Brigadiers. They have taken seven forts, garrisons, or castles, within the two last months; and scaling towers at midnight, and storming redoubts at mid-day, are become familiar occurrences. The enemy cannot stand a galling fire from the launch's carronade, or a sharp fire of grape and musketry from the jolly boat. It is really astonishing;

those youths think that nothing is beyond their enterprise, and they seldom fail of success.

The Spartan,* Amphion,† and others, have taken and blown up three fortified places. Stewart in the Seahorse, and the Halcyon‡ brig, took two small islands, in which were fortified forts and towns; Alceste|| and Cyané§, three towers, by escalade, at midnight; and the Scout,¶ not to be behindhand, divided his force, and making a brisk attack with his boats in front, stormed a French work in the rear, and brought seven vessels out of the port. This activity and zeal in those gallant young men keep up my spirits, and make me equal to bear the disagreeables that happen from the contentions of some other ships. I hope that they are over; but the exercise of power necessary to remedy them is very, very painful to me indeed. In such an extensive Navy as we have, there must be some bad. Those who do all the service give no trouble; those who give the trouble are good for nothing. I am glad to hear Clavell is well again. He is a valuable officer, has skill and temper, and I shall be very happy to serve him in any thing. It is a great mistake for an officer to come here with his wife and family. Who would think of bringing a poor woman from the society of her friends to live, where?—at Malta. All his pay would not pay her house-rent. At Palermo, among the Princesses? That, in my opinion, whatever she might think of it, is worse: unless she can paint her face well, and intrigue by moonlight, she will be nobody there. She has no more chance of seeing her husband here than if she were in England, on which she will fret;

* Captain (now Sir Jahleel) Brenton.

† Captain (now Sir William) Hoste.

‡ Captain H. W. Pearse.

|| Captain (now Sir Murray) Maxwell.

§ Captain (now Sir Thomas) Staines.

¶ Captain Raitt.

and a teasing wife is the devil. I have been more than six years from home, and there is my good wife, who makes herself as contented as she can; but she is a sensible woman, and knows that the times require I should be abroad, and that it is proper she should be at home.

The brilliant exploits of the fleet, in the destruction of convoys, telegraphs, and towers, obliged the enemy to keep an army in movable columns in their batteries along the whole line of the French and Italian coasts: and so important did these unremitted attacks appear to Lord Collingwood, that he proposed to keep two or three battalions of marines afloat in ships, to be prepared for that purpose, and to extend this mode of warfare as far as Government would furnish the means. The difficulty of manning the fleet had increased with the length of the war, and was particularly felt on the Mediterranean station, where the fleet had few opportunities of recruiting its numbers from merchant vessels. Lord Collingwood had been ever adverse to impressment, and early after the mutiny at the Nore had been studious to discover some means of avoiding the too frequent recurrence to that system. He had found that Irish boys, from twelve to sixteen years of age, when mingled with the English sailors, acquired rapidly the order, activity, and seaman-like spirit of their comrades; and that in the climate of the Mediterranean they often, in less than two years, became expert topmen; while adults, who had been little habituated to the sea, but torn by impressment from other occupations, were generally ineffective and discontented. He accordingly proposed to the Admiralty to raise yearly five thousand Irish boys, and to send a large proportion of them to his command, where he would have them taught and prepared in ships of the

line, before they were sent into smaller vessels. By these means, and by the extension throughout the Navy of that humane and temperate discipline for which he was ever distinguished, and by which he had gained the honourable title of the Sailor's Friend, he was convinced that a large and effective force might be maintained, by which he intended, in the succeeding year, to have made more frequent and formidable attacks upon the shores of France.

TO SIR JOHN STUART.

Ville de Paris, off Toulon, July 15, 1809.

I beg to offer you my congratulations on the success of your enterprise against Ischia. The expedition I have considered as having two objects, in one of which you have perfectly succeeded; in the other, I am afraid that greater difficulties will present themselves. The first was, to make a diversion to favour the Austrians in the north, and prevent those reinforcements being sent to the French army, which had, in fact, departed from Naples. They were recalled, and so much time is gained to the army of our ally. The second object was to try the disposition of the nation towards their Sovereign, and whether inclination or means were to be found in them to expel the usurper of his throne. I am sorry to find the prospect in this is not so flattering as the reports brought to Sicily would have led them to believe. The possession of the islands could only produce good in those two points. Any attempt to maintain them, I should apprehend, is not in your contemplation; because I cannot comprehend their smallest utility, but see many inconveniences and dangers in holding them. From their situation, they must be dependent on whoever possesses Naples. I understand that they do not produce food for the inhabitants, and must be

sequently be fed from other quarters. To garrison them with a few troops would be submitting them to a danger which is inevitable: to provide more largely for their defence would be to weaken that of Sicily, which is already scarce competent to the service which it may have to meet. To destroy the works, and remove the stores and cannon, is what I would recommend, and to harrass the enemy, by making demonstration and threatening other quarters.

I would propose, that, after returning to Sicily, there should be despatched 1000 men to Cephalonia and Zante, which are said to be ripe for insurrection. From the information which I have, the Islanders are all adverse to the French, and would heartily join in expelling them. In forming an administration for their government afterwards, there would possibly be more difficulty; but an officer of temper and judgment would have great influence in deciding them. Such a measure would exceedingly distract the French in their operations, and probably open the way to the reduction of Corfu. Many and great advantages would result from the liberation of those Islands, and from attaching them to us, and to us alone. In the maintaining Procida and Ischia I see nothing but the imminent danger of exposing a part of the army to misfortune. They can have nothing to do with the ultimate fate of the kingdom of Naples, no more than Capri had: Capri was a little evil, and they will be a greater one.

I know that in this case you would have to contend with the politics of the Court of Palermo; but I believe that whenever those politics can decide upon the service of your army, it will meet more difficulties than it can encounter successfully, were it more powerful than it is.

I hope you will pardon me for the freedom of expressing my

opinion: but I feel convinced that the fate of the kingdom of Naples does not depend on any conquest which the army can make, unsupported by the general sentiment of the nation, but on the ultimate success of the Austrian arms; and whatever diversion is made to favour them, operates in favour of the emancipation of Naples.

Having made these observations on your situation, I must now inform you what is my own. Ever since the movement of the army from Sicily, there appears to have been a particular degree of activity at Toulon. They have a fleet of twelve sail of the line, seven frigates, and many smaller vessels, lying at the outer part of the harbour, where they never laid before, as if ready for a start. A Vice-Admiral has lately joined their fleet, probably Allemande, from Rochefort, and he may have brought the seamen from thence. There is no destination so likely for them as to succour Murat, and counteract your measures. I do not think they would come out to fight the English squadron, which is ten sail of the line and a frigate; but they are strong enough not to require much caution to avoid it.* In weather, when I can keep close off the port, I do not think they will move; but ten days since we had a gale from the N.W. which drove the fleet almost half way to Minorca; and had they been ready then, they might have sailed, and probably have been near Naples before I could have known that they were out of port. This may happen again,

* On one occasion, during the summer of 1809, the English squadron was reduced to nine sail of the line, while the enemy had fourteen completely manned by the arrival of their seamen from Rochefort, where many of their ships had been disabled or destroyed. One day the enemy got under weigh, and prepared to come out; but on the immediate approach of the English squadron before the port, they again anchored, and the next morning Lord Collingwood was joined by another ship. In consequence of this affair, the two French Admirals quarrelled, and one was superseded.

and most likely will. It is a circumstance over which we can have no control; but it is for consideration, whether the ships and transports are so secured at their anchorage at Ischia as not to be endangered by such a fleet, if enabled to make a sudden attack.

But there are other objects for the enemy, not of less consideration. Why, in such a case, may they not go to Palermo? and if they did, what is there to resist them? I am afraid from the people of Sicily they would meet little opposition. They have near 5000 men, of Dupont's army, in the island of Cabrera, whom the Spaniards would not trust in Majorca. These men want only arms to be an army; and while a part of their fleet may be leading me a chase, a detachment might embark them, and transport them to Palermo for a garrison.

Wherever Sir Arthur Wellesley has been engaged with the French he has been successful: of other operations in Spain I know little. In Catalonia the French are doing what they please, without opposition, except from about 180 Samotines.

I believe I informed you of the success of General Blake at Alcaniz, where he would have obtained a complete victory if his cavalry had not deserted him. He afterwards advanced to the neighbourhood of Saragossa, with an army of between 20 and 30,000, who, on being attacked by the French, deserted him, both horse and foot. An Officer from Valencia informed me that the General was on his return to Tarragona, to endeavour to collect them again; but if he finds them they will probably be without arms.

TO REAR-ADMIRAL MARTIN.

Ville de Paris, off Toulon, July 15, 1809.

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letters on the surrender of the islands of Ischia and Procida, and beg to express to you the great satisfaction I have derived from the success of the enterprise which you are engaged in. By the letter I have received from Sir John Stuart, he appears to have found nothing in the conduct of the superior orders of the Neapolitans which indicates any disposition to take an active part in the restoration of King Ferdinand; but the fair opportunity to shew their attachment has not presented itself. No power has yet appeared which can give them permanent protection, nor is such a power likely to be found but in the success of the Austrian arms. A temporary possession of any place cannot be productive of good. I have explained to the General what are my sentiments on this subject, and sincerely hope that he will not think of making any establishment on those islands. With all the feeding and nurturing that Sicily can give them, they will not be preserved from falling, whenever the enemy shall please: but they have an interest in our holding them, as they divide the force of our army, and will always require the assistance of ships, which in winter cannot protect them. I should suppose that threatening descent at different places, harassing their troops, and making it necessary to retain them in Italy, is as much as could be done; but I have proposed to the General a measure of real operation, which, if he sees it in the same view that I do, I think he will undertake. It is to make a detachment of 1000 men, to take possession of Cephalonia and Zante, which, from the accounts I have received of the state of those islands, I think is very prac-

ticable. The advantages to us in restoring the Republic in those islands would be great, diminish the value of Corfu to the French, and probably lead the way to its being rescued from them. I beg you will consult with the General *privately* on this subject, for if it were known at Messina it will pass to Calabria, and a resistance be prepared in the islands, which will defeat the undertaking.

If the General should make a detachment, I have suggested that a public order should be given to the Commander of it to proceed to Syracuse, and that the orders directing the particular service should not be opened until they shall be at sea. The Naval Commander should be directed to steer towards Syracuse, and being so far from land as not to be discerned from the shore, open his orders; after which, never to come in sight of the coast of Calabria, but proceed to Cephalonia first (not Zante), where he will find the ships stationed off Paxos, and receive pilots from them.

I beg you will take every means of keeping up the correspondence with me. Malta absorbs all the sloops; I cannot get them from thence, and am considering of some means to correct what will be ruinous to the naval affairs if it be not corrected. Having given you my opinion of establishing a garrison at Ischia, &c. and how I think a detachment of the army could be advantageously employed, I come to that which, although put last in order, is first in importance,—the state of the enemy's fleet here. They lie at the outer part of the harbour, ready for an opportunity to sail. The first service they may have in view, I suppose, may be Naples,—suddenly to come upon the islands where you are, and attack you with such a force as you cannot resist. The other is to go to Palermo, where there is nothing to resist them, and where they would probably be hailed by the majority of the people.

You may depend upon it that I shall keep the best look-out I can on them ; but the course of natural events will, notwithstanding, give them opportunities which I cannot control. Are the islands of any use ? I cannot comprehend it. The risk of being surprised on them is total ruin. When I wrote to the General this morning, I mentioned the probability of their using the prisoner troops upon Cabrera, — since which the *Apollo* has joined me with information that the French were about to send arms and ammunition to those people. There is a Spanish frigate watching them, but the ships that can receive those 5000 men will not be prevented by a frigate. In service, such as our army is now employed on, it will not do to be long in a position ; — while their operations are quick, and their movements sudden, they will be successful. Your account of the good services of the *Cyané*, and the gallant conduct of the Commander, gave me great pleasure, which was damped by my sorrow for the misfortune which befell Captain Staines. He has, on every occasion, distinguished himself as an officer of consummate skill, and of a daring, which shewed that His Majesty's service was the object nearest his heart. It is to be lamented that he must necessarily be withdrawn from it for some time, as he will probably recover better in a cooler climate ; and as his ship wants repair, which will sooner be done in England than here, I enclose an order for her to return thither.

* TO THE EARL OF MULGRAVE.

Ville de Paris, off Toulon, July 17, 1809.

I do not know that it was ever the intention of the General to make an establishment on the islands of Ischia and Procida ; but I have no doubt that it is what the Court of Sicily

looked to. It was proposed to Sir John Stuart, at Palermo, that Prince Leopold should embark, and serve as a Volunteer in the British army,—an honour which the General declined; and the Prince went with the Sicilian army. On the surrender of the islands, the Prince produced his commission from the King his father, appointing His Royal Highness Viceroy of them, and any other parts of the King's dominions which might be wrested from the enemy. The Prince is attended by a person who was formerly Minister of Police at Naples, and some others, who are said to be equally obnoxious to the people, and of whom they are much more afraid than they are of the French. In the military department is Lieutenant-General Bouchard, who is said to be respectable as an officer, and in every view. He is the nominal Commander of the Sicilian forces; but the Marquess St. Clair is the chief Counsellor of the Prince, and your Lordship knows that his influence pervades all departments.

As there is no hope of advantage from the insurrection of the people of Naples, there are good reasons why the troops should not be long from Sicily. Admiral Martin tells me that it is impossible to describe the unsettled state of people's minds in Sicily on the British troops embarking, as if it seemed to be an event from which something was to be derived. At Messina it was near breaking out before their departure. Several persons, it seems, had been imprisoned on suspicion of disaffection, and a Judge had been commissioned to try and execute them. It happened that one of them died in prison, and suspicion went abroad that he had been put privately to death or tortured. Every thing bore the appearance of immediate revolt against the Government; but they were at last appeased by Sir John Stuart ordering the body to be examined

by surgeons; and their report was, that no marks of violence appeared upon it.

TO J. E. BLACKETT, ESQ.

Ville de Paris, off Toulon, July 17, 1809.

It gave me great pleasure to find you were enjoying good health, and every happiness that the society of your amiable daughters can give. It is a great blessing; but I am afraid one of those which I have little chance of enjoying. I am pretty well pleased and thankful when I am not in pain, which, between the headach by day, and cramps by night, is not often the case. This mortal body of ours is but a crazy sort of machine at the best of times; and when old, it is always wanting repair: but I must keep it going as long as I can. From England they tell me of my being relieved at the end of the war. I wish to heaven that the day were come.

TO SIR JOHN STUART.

Ville de Paris, off Toulon, September 1, 1809.

I have received a letter from Admiral Martin by the *Topaze*, in which, after informing me of his arrival at Palermo, and of the armistice which had been agreed to by the Commanders of the Austrian and French armies, he mentions his having received a letter from your Excellency, in which you seem to intimate an opinion that those events offer a reason for deferring the expedition to Cephalaria and Zante, which I had proposed to you, and that he thought you would wait in this new state of affairs until you heard my sentiments further on the subject. I cannot say

that I can perceive any thing in the events that are passing in the armies which can at all interrupt the project against the French in the islands. I always considered it as an experiment to try the power of the inhabitants to maintain an independent state, and of their disposition to exert it, both of which they are represented to possess. By the acquisitions which the French are likely to make in the Adriatic, the importance of holding a port, or of establishing an independent power at the entrance of it, is very much increased. They have stated that they have means and men for their defence, if they were once liberated: whether they have or not, will never be distinctly known until they are in a situation to use them; and in any event the appearance of a force there will occupy the French troops. They will probably think it necessary to reinforce Corfu, which will expose them to risk of capture: and whatever their intentions may be in future with respect to the Morea, their difficulties, by our having a friendly intercourse in those islands, would be increased.

I would propose to your Excellency to extend the plan of operation for that detachment; and whether they succeeded at the first places or not, to go on to the island of Cerigo, where a few Frenchmen (I am told not exceeding forty or fifty), with some Russians, who have never been withdrawn since the island was given up, make a sort of garrison, which gives protection to the privateers. The island itself is a miserable, unproductive place, and any people left there must depend on supplies being sent to them for support. It will be for the officers who are there to determine whether any advantage could be derived from keeping it, or whether it would not be advisable to destroy all its defences, bring off the cannon, and

leave its inhabitants to possess only what can be useful to them in peace.

TO THE EARL OF MULGRAVE.

Ville de Paris, off Minorca, October 2, 1809.

I learn that the French are about to sail from port; but what their destination is, must remain unknown until they proceed. The current reports which have come to me have stated Barcelona only to be their object; but their equipment seems to be more studiously finished than would be necessary for so short a voyage. If the war with Austria ceases, I have no doubt that the possession of the Morea is in the contemplation of Buonaparte. A great body of troops may not be necessary for the purpose; for the probability is, that he has already settled, by his emissaries and his intrigues, the condition of its being submitted to him. I have written to Sir A. Ball to have pilots for the Morea ready for the fleet, and particularly for the Gulf of Lepanto. Whatever direction the enemy may take, I will leave nothing in my power undone for the service of our Country. The uncertainty as to that direction induced me to send orders to Captain Hargood to leave the Adriatic with the ships of the line. Several reasons led to this resolve. The advanced season makes it improper to leave the large ships in that sea, where they will not have a port. If the enemy here should make an escape, and go to that quarter, our squadron might be put in a very critical situation; but the reason which weighs strongest with me is, that (except a few troops joining Captain Brenton in his gallant and spirited attack of Lusin Piccolo) the Austrians have undertaken nothing on the coast in which the

fleet could render them any assistance, nor are likely to do it. All the acts of General l'Espine shew that he had no plan. Every thing seemed practicable when it was distant,—nothing when he approached it; so that the summer has passed in marching from Trieste to Fiume, from Fiume to Zara, and from Zara to Trieste again. If he had an anxiety about any thing, it was that the Russians should not be attacked. Captain Hargood is an active and a zealous officer; and, I believe, if he had found the Russian ships in a situation where they were assailable, he would not have been influenced by any opinion of the Austrian General.

The Sicilian Government is exceedingly tenacious of every rock that was pertaining to the kingdom of Naples. There can be no other reason for their keeping possession of the little Island of Penza. It produces nothing, and its inhabitants are dependent on Sicily for food; yet a garrison is kept there, which might be usefully employed in Sicily; and to protect that garrison all the marine force which they have is stationed.

TO MRS. HALL.*

Ville de Paris, October 7, 1809.

I had great pleasure in the receipt of your very kind letter a few days since, and give you joy, my dear Maria, on the increase of your family. You have now three boys, and I hope they will live to make you very happy when you are an old woman. I am truly sensible of the kind regard which you have shewn to me in giving my name to your infant: he will bring me to your remembrance often; and then you will think of a friend who loves

* The daughter of his uncle and early friend, Admiral Brathwaite.

you and all your family very much. With a kind and affectionate husband and three children, all boys, you are happy, and I hope will ever be so. But three boys,—let me tell you, the chance is very much against you, unless you are for ever on your guard. The temper and disposition of most people are formed before they are seven years old; and the common cause of bad ones is the too great indulgence and mistaken fondness which the affection of a parent finds it difficult to veil, though the happiness of the child depends upon it. Your measures must be systematic: whenever they do wrong never omit to reprove them firmly, but with gentleness. Always speak to them in a style and language rather superior to their years. Proper words are as easily learned as improper ones. And when they do well—when they deserve commendation, bestow it lavishly. Let the feelings of your heart flow from your eyes and tongue; and they will never forget the effect which their good behaviour has upon their mother, and this at an earlier time of life than is generally thought. I am very much interested in their prosperity, and that they may become good and virtuous men.

I am glad that you think my daughters are well-behaved girls. I took much pains with them the little time I was at home. I endeavoured to give them a contempt for the nonsense and frivolity of fashion, and to establish in its stead a conduct founded on reason. They could admire thunder and lightning as any other of God's stupendous works, and walk through a churchyard at midnight without apprehension of meeting any thing worse than themselves. I brought them up not to make griefs of trifles, nor suffer any but what were inevitable.

I am an unhappy creature, old and worn out. I wish to come to England, but some objection is ever made to it.

TO CAPTAIN CLAVELL.

Ville de Paris, October 20, 1809.

I am very sorry that you have so little prospect of getting employed at sea; because I am sure that there is no officer who takes the service more to heart, or would do it more justice than you would. I have so little influence at the Admiralty, that I have no reason to suppose any thing which I could say would avail you. Lord Mulgrave knows my opinion of you, and the confidence I have in you; but the truth is, that he is so pressed by persons having parliamentary influence, that he cannot find himself at liberty to select those whose nautical skill and gallantry would otherwise present them as proper men for the service. A hole or two in the skin will not weigh against a vote in Parliament, and my influence is very light at present. But the French fleet is ready for sea; and if God should bless me with a happy meeting with them, I shall hope that I may afterwards venture to ask a favour, and there is not one for whom I would rather ask it than for you. In the meantime, occupy yourself in all sorts of naval studies. Whenever you come forward to service, come with more knowledge than when you left it. It was a misfortune that your health obliged you to go to England; but that was a circumstance not to be avoided. Officers who take the service to heart, as you have always done, will be borne down by the weight of it when it is arduous; and a little relaxation was necessary to you. Except the short time the Ocean was under repair at Malta, I have been at sea ever since you left this country. My health and strength are wearing fast away, and I am become an infirm old man; but I am content to be so, and satisfied that my life could be no where so well spent. I am much obliged to you

for inquiring about my daughters. I wish you had seen them; for it gives me much pleasure,—indeed, it is the only pleasure I have,—to hear of them from every body. It grieves me that Sir Peter Parker is so ill. He is a good man, and has had a parental regard for me. Would that I could rejoice his heart once more with the success of this fleet.

TO LADY COLLINGWOOD.

Ville de Paris, October 30, 1809.

You will have great pleasure in hearing of my success, and particularly of its having been effected without a hair in any body's head being hurt, and almost without a shot being fired. I told the Admiralty what my plan was in September, and it has succeeded to a marvel. I knew, from the intelligence which I had received, that the French were impatient to supply Barcelona with provisions, and that while I was off Toulon, they would not attempt it until the squadron was blown off; and, in that case, I should not be able to prevent them. After one of those strong gales, I retired to Minorca, sent several of my ships into the harbour, where they just remained long enough to seem settled and for the intelligence to go to Toulon that we were there, when I called them out and proceeded to Cape Sebastian, to which place the frigates, stationed at Toulon, were to bring me intelligence. On Sunday night, the 22d, one of them came with the signal that the enemy was approaching. Every soul was in raptures; I expected their whole fleet, and that we should have had a dashing business. The next morning, between eight and nine o'clock, they came in sight; but they were few,—only one Rear-Admiral, with three sail of the line, two frigates, some other armed things, and a convoy of about twenty vessels. As soon

as they discovered us, they made off. Night came on, and I thought that we had lost them; but as the fleet separated in different parties, by good luck, Admiral Martin's division fell in with them, near their own shore, in the Gulf of Lyons, where he chased them on shore on the 25th; and on the 26th, the French Admiral set fire to his own ship, the *Robuste* of 80 guns, and the *Lion* of 74. The *Borée* of 74 guns, and one of the frigates, run on shore at Cette. It blew almost a gale of wind, and our own ships were in a very dangerous situation. The first day of the chase the *Pomona* burnt five vessels of the convoy, and one has since been taken; the rest are in a port near to which I have sent a good squadron to endeavour to destroy them or bring them off; and if they are to be come at, I know that it will be done. So much for ships: next for our land operations. As soon as it was found that the army could do nothing at Naples, I sent to the General, requesting that a detachment of the army might join a squadron which I had ordered to reduce the Islands of Zante, Cephalonia, &c., and to restore the Ionian Republic. This expedition was undertaken with such secrecy, that none of the people knew in the least where they were going; and at Malta and Sicily I do not believe that there was the smallest suspicion of such a thing being in contemplation until it was all finished. This day I have received the despatches which inform me that Zante, Cephalonia, Ithaca, and Cerigo, are wrested from the French, and the Republican Government established under the protection of England. This business has been accomplished with great skill: the people are delighted at their emancipation, and I trust that they will exert themselves in defence of the liberty which we have restored to them. I hope this last expedition will be approved in England by His Majesty; but I have undertaken it without instructions, and

on my own responsibility. The General seemed rather adverse to it, and doubtful whether he could safely spare the troops from Sicily. It is done—well done,—and I hope that there will never be cause to repent it. Those things, and preserving the peace with Algiers and yet maintaining our right which caused the discussion, will, I hope, be satisfactory to the King. His Majesty will, I am sure, in any event, receive them as proofs of my zealous perseverance in the public service. To you, my dear Sarah, I am sure it will be a gratification that I am usefully employed, and that, although we cannot always command success, I spare no pains to deserve it. I am in great distress just now: Admiral Thornborough has been out of health some time; he is impatient to get home to Bath, and is urging me very much to allow him to go. I do not like to part with so firm a man. He would be a host to me in battle. Sir Alexander Ball, too, I hear is very ill. There is hardly in England another person fit for Governor of Malta. He has all the knowledge and qualities for it, which few men have. These are great drawbacks on me.

TO LORD RADSTOCK.

Ville de Paris, November 3, 1809.

I am sure, if you knew the kind of life I lead, you would excuse my not writing very often; the truth is, that I have much more to do than comes to the share of any one person. The time that I am eating my miserable dinner seems to be lost to me; and but for the demands of nature, I could ill spare it. Would it were peace. The taking of the Islands of Zante and Cephalonia was well done. They may turn out to be very great

acquisitions; but it will depend on the exertions of the people to defend their Country. It is not possible that England can uphold all the broken-down States that have neither virtue nor energy enough to help themselves. I am one of the few who have never changed my opinion of the Spanish affairs. I never thought them otherwise than as they now appear. They have defended the Cities of Saragossa and Gerona well: I believe the women have more to do than the men, and the priests a great deal more than the laity; for whenever they are separated, they have done and do nothing. Dupont surrendered, nobody knew why. Without the ladies, who used to drive about his camp in coaches, he grew tired of the disagreeable noise of guns, and that raised a name for the Spaniards; but the higher orders never shewed any patriotism, and the ignorant commons could not conduct the affairs of the Country. As they became more removed from the clergy who directed them, they lost their energy, and now I do not think that there is such a thing in Spain.

By the last accounts I heard from Malta, Ball was very ill,—almost hopeless. I love him, and am in despair for him. He cannot be replaced in Malta, nor is there a man in England qualified to govern the Maltese but himself. They are all too little or too great.

TO THE EARL OF MULGRAVE.

November 3, 1809.

Your Lordship would be prepared by my former letters to hear of the reduction of the Islands of Zante, &c. That Island, Cephalonia, Cerigo, and the small Island of Ithaca, were taken

by Captain Sprainger and Brigadier-General Oswald without any loss. The whole affair was conducted by those two officers with ability; and I cannot say too much to your Lordship of the zeal and talent of Captain Brenton: of these he gives proof whenever he is employed; and he seems to be every where. At Lusin he undertook and accomplished a service which would have established a reputation, had he never had other opportunity; and now at Cerigo his conduct has not been less distinguished.

TO J. E. BLACKETT, ESQ.

Ville de Paris, November 24, 1809.

I have been ill and confined ever since I came into port; yet I cannot tell what to say on the subject of my coming on shore. My declining health will make it necessary soon; my weakness unfits me for the arduous situation which I hold.

The accounts I receive of my children are my greatest comfort. God has given them good understandings; and if they have imbibed from Mrs. Moss a proper contempt for vanities, and a taste for useful knowledge, she will have done the duty of a friend for them, and laid a sure foundation for their happiness. Their respectability in life, next to their own suavity of manners to all people, will depend upon a proper selection of their company;—such as the flock is, such is the lamb.

The morning of the 1st November we burnt the convoy which had escaped into Rosas Bay. The attack was highly spirited; there were five armed ships and vessels amongst them, moored under the protection of the castle and strong batteries. They were boarded by the boats, carried in a short time, sword in hand, and all on fire.

We lost sixteen men, and had between fifty and sixty wounded. The loss of the enemy was great, most of the crews being blown up in their ships, which had powder on board.

The defence which our army made at Talavera was highly honourable to the British name. There could not be a finer exhibition of bravery and skilful conduct: but such victories, under such circumstances, exhaust our strength, and do not advance our cause. I am afraid that of Spain is languishing. I have never thought better of it, because from the beginning I saw and represented the Spaniards as they were and are. The people of England proclaimed them what they wished them to be.

FROM HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF CLARENCE.

MY DEAR LORD,

Bushy House, December 9, 1809.

Your Lordship's agreeable letter of November 3, from off Cape Sebastian, has reached me, and I congratulate you sincerely on the event of Admiral Martin having destroyed the ships of the line, and Captain Hallowell having made an end of the convoy. I am only to lament that the enemy did not give your Lordship and the British fleet an opportunity of doing more; and trust, from the bottom of my heart, that the next letter which you will have occasion to write will bring the news of the Toulon squadron being in your Lordship's power.

It is odd that the enemy should have selected the 21st October for sailing; and extraordinary also that the French should build such fine ships, and handle them so ill. I am glad that your Lordship is satisfied with the conduct of our officers and men on this occasion; and am clearly of opinion that the Lieutenants deserve and ought

to be promoted. I am for liberal rewards: the gallant Raitt, of course, comes within my ideas of promotion and gratuities. I have ever been and ever shall be of opinion that zeal and bravery ought to be the great and sole causes of promotion. Your former favourite, the Empress Catherine, knew well this secret of state; and your Lordship's observation is quite correct, that her Imperial Majesty carried the same notions even into her private amusements: "None but the brave," my dear Lord!

I am glad that Spranger has done his duty in taking four, out of the seven islands, and hope the remainder will soon fall. The enemy must feel very awkward without them, and cannot fail to be interrupted in attempting the Morea.

My best wishes attend your Lordship, publicly and privately; and believe me ever, my dear Lord,

Yours most sincerely,

WILLIAM.

TO J. E. BLACKETT, ESQ.

Ville de Paris, Minorca, January 1, 1810.

Thus the years roll on; and as the season comes round, I congratulate you, at the same time, on entering a new year of the world and of your life, which, I hope, you will enjoy in health, and pass in happiness and comfort. I have been in port longer than I ever was since leaving England, and have saved my ships very much from a great deal of extreme bad weather. This I have been enabled to do by having luckily reduced the enemy's fleet, as you will have heard, in October, and given them a check which will make them very cautious. I am not without hope that they will make another attempt to victual Barcelona, which is straitened for provisions, and

that we may have another meeting with them. It would have been a happy day if they had all come last time. I expected them, and was well prepared for them. In Sicily they are delighted; for as they are always in danger, whatever reduces the enemy's force diminishes their fears. I have a very handsome letter from the Prime Minister, who writes, in the King's name, to congratulate me. The Court there is very gay at present, the Duke of Orleans being lately married to the Princess Amelia, who appeared to me to be a mild and pleasing woman. The old Duchess, who is a delightful old woman, seems to have forgotten her misfortunes, and they have been great;—and is very happy in the choice which her son has made of a wife. I have been very unwell lately. The physician tells me that it is the effect of constant confinement, which is not very comfortable, as there is little chance of its being otherwise. Old age and infirmities are coming on me very fast, and I am weak, and tottering on my legs.

I had a great loss in the death of Sir Alexander Ball. He was an able and industrious man; and I fear Malta will never be so well governed again. We were Midshipmen together, and have always been on terms of the greatest friendship. The islands which we took will very much add to the commerce of Malta. That business was done particularly neatly. In a letter from a French Governor at Cerigo, he informs his Chief, that some Albanians, about 600, had come to that island, and that he was determined to get clear of them by some means. In the next letter he tells him that he found himself under the necessity of poisoning the waters, by which many died, and the rest, alarmed, went away—a deed worthy of the Devil.

TO CAPTAIN CLAVELL.

Ville de Paris, February 10, 1810.

I have received your very kind letter of November, and am much obliged to you for the interest you take in our successes here. I should be very glad if you had a good ship to partake in the toils, for indeed it is all toil; we have little respite. Our falling in with that convoy, though it was but a small one, was fortunate. All that was possible was done for its destruction, and as little escaped as could reasonably be expected; but I am sorry to find that the ships which ran into Cette were not a bit hurt. When the weather was fine, they hauled them out of the mud, and they got back to Toulon in the first north-west wind.

I dare say that you are very desirous of being employed again. If I had any influence with Lord Mulgrave, there is nobody in whose behalf I would use it in preference to you; and you may believe, that whenever I feel that I have any interest, I will exert it for you. I have been failing in my health very much for more than a year, and it is my constant occupation alone that keeps me alive. Lately I have had a very severe complaint in my stomach, which has almost prevented my eating. It is high time I should return to England, and I hope that I shall be allowed to do so before long. It will, otherwise, be soon too late. I am, my dear Clavell, with very great esteem, your most faithful friend and servant.

TO THE EARL OF MULGRAVE.

Ville de Paris, February 22, 1810.

It has given me much concern that I have been under the necessity of writing to the Secretary of the Admiralty, stating the ill condition of my health, and requesting their Lordships' permission to return to England; and this, I can assure your Lordship, I have not done until I am past service, being at present totally incapable of applying to the duties of my office. My complaint is of a nature to which I apprehend it is difficult to apply a remedy, for I have hitherto received no benefit from medical advice. Since November it has been daily increasing, so that I am now almost past walking across my cabin; and as it is attributed to my long service in a ship, I have little hope of amendment until I can land.

Your Lordship on a former occasion was so good as to say that you would regard those Officers whom I mentioned as having served long with me. There are three Lieutenants who have served with me on this station more than four years, and are men of character. Lieutenant Joseph Simmonds was an Officer of the Royal Sovereign in the action: all his life has been service. Lieutenant George Brown was an Officer in the Victory at the same time, and is a well-qualified Officer, as is Lieutenant Richard Coote. I beg to present these gentlemen to your Lordship, as Officers whose services under my command have greatly interested me in their advancement.

TO THE
GOVERNOR, CLERGY, JURATS, AND INHABITANTS OF MAHON.

Ville de Paris, March 2, 1810.

I have received the honour of your letter of this day, and am extremely sorry to hear of the commotion which at present exists among the people of Mahon.

His Majesty has engaged to assist the Spanish nation in repelling the aggressions of a rapacious enemy, and in recovering those just and indefeasible rights which the French had attempted to usurp; but the British Government have never intended to interfere in any manner with the internal regulations and police of Spain. To defend this island from any attempt of our common enemy is my duty, and shall be the care of the British fleet; but the liberation or removal of the prisoners who are in your power, are, as I conceive, so exclusively subjects for the decision and direction of His Most Catholic Majesty and the Government of Spain, that I must refrain from further remarks upon them.

I have been obliged to leave the squadron from extreme ill health, and am so reduced, that it is impossible for me to apply to business. It is with the utmost difficulty that I can dictate this letter.

Lord Collingwood had been repeatedly urged by his friends to surrender his command, and to seek in England that repose which had become so necessary in his declining health; but his feelings on the subject of discipline were peculiarly strong, and he had ever exacted the most implicit obedience from others. He thought it therefore his duty not to quit the post which had been assigned

to him, until he should be duly relieved,—and replied, that his life was his Country's, in whatever way it might be required of him. When he moored in the harbour of Port Mahon, on the 25th of February, he was in a state of great suffering and debility; and having been strongly recommended by his medical attendants to try the effect of gentle exercise on horseback, he went immediately on shore, accompanied by his friend Captain Hallowell, who left his ship to attend him in his illness: but it was then too late. He became incapable of bearing the slightest fatigue; and as it was represented to him that his return to England was indispensably necessary for the preservation of his life, he, on the 3d of March, surrendered his command to Rear-Admiral Martin. The two following days were spent in unsuccessful attempts to warp the *Ville de Paris* out of Port Mahon; but on the 6th the wind came round to the westward, and at sunset the ship succeeded in clearing the harbour, and made sail for England. When Lord Collingwood was informed that he was again at sea, he rallied for a time his exhausted strength, and said to those around him, “Then I may yet live to meet the French once more.” On the morning of the 7th there was a considerable swell, and his friend Captain Thomas, on entering his cabin, observed, that he feared the motion of the vessel disturbed him. “No, Thomas,” he replied, “I am now in a state in which nothing in this world can disturb me more. I am dying; and I am sure it must be consolatory to you, and all who love me, to see how comfortably I am coming to my end.” He told one of his attendants that he had endeavoured to review, as far as was possible, all the actions of his past life, and that he had the happiness to say that nothing gave him a moment's uneasiness. He spoke at times of his absent family, and

of the doubtful contest in which he was about to leave his Country involved, but ever with calmness and perfect resignation to the will of God; and in this blessed state of mind, after taking an affectionate farewell of his attendants, he expired without a struggle at six o'clock in the evening of that day, having attained the age of fifty-nine years and six months.

“Those who were about his Lordship’s person,” observes Mr. Macanst, the Surgeon of the Ville de Paris, in the report which he made on the occasion, “and who witnessed the composure and
“resignation with which he met his fate, will long remember the
“scene with wonder and admiration. In no part of his Lordship’s
“brilliant life did his character appear with greater lustre than
“when he was approaching his end. It was dignified in the ex-
“treme. If it be on the bed of sickness and at the approach of
“death,—when ambition, the love of glory, and the interests of
“the world, are over,—that the true character is to be discovered,
“surely never did any man’s appear to greater advantage than did
“that of my Lord Collingwood. For my own part, I did not
“believe it possible that any one, on such an occasion, could have
“behaved so nobly. Cruelly harassed by a most afflicting disease,
“obtaining no relief from the means employed, and perceiving his
“death to be inevitable, he suffered no sigh of regret to escape,
“no murmuring at his past life, no apprehension of the future. He
“met death as became him, with a composure and fortitude which
“have seldom been equalled, and never surpassed.”

After Lord Collingwood’s decease, it was found that, with the exception of the stomach, all the other organs of life were peculiarly vigorous and unimpaired; and from this inspection, and the age which the surviving members of his family have attained,

there is every reason to conclude that if he had been earlier relieved from his command, he would still have been in the enjoyment of the honours and rewards which would doubtless have awaited him on his return to England. His death was occasioned by a contraction of the pylorus, brought on by confinement on board of ship, and by his continually bending over a desk, while engaged in his Correspondence; of the extent of which, this Volume can convey but an imperfect idea. So high was the opinion which was generally entertained of his judgment, that he was consulted from all quarters, and on all occasions, on questions of general policy, of regulation, and even of trade. Some of these letters would have been inserted here, to shew with what facility and power he treated matters the most foreign from the habits of his life, if this collection had not already grown far beyond the extent which the Editor had originally contemplated. On the merits of that Correspondence it is unnecessary for him to expatiate. All who have read these pages must have observed the talent with which Lord Collingwood adapted his style to the various habits of the Countries with which he was in communication,—the sagacity with which he penetrated into the secret projects of France, and foretold the successive changes of the policy of Russia,—his wise forbearance towards neutral States, and the vigour with which he endeavoured, when they had entered into the contest, to inspire into their councils his own activity and resolution. All must have admired the benevolent solicitude with which he sought not only to promote the happiness of his own sailors, but to mitigate to his enemies the horrors of war, and, as far as his influence extended, to call back contending Nations to the blessings of peace, manifesting, by another memorable example, how in every noble heart humanity and gentleness are

the inseparable companions of true valour. And surely none can contemplate without emotion the picture which is here presented of a most affectionate husband and father, withheld from his family and home by a sense of public duty; yet still endeavouring to conduct the education of his daughters, and (while engaged, as he himself expressed it, in a perpetual contest with the elements, and with dispositions as boisterous and untractable) cultivating in their youthful minds benevolence, gentleness, and every female virtue.

Lord Collingwood was rather above the middle stature, and of a slender but well-proportioned person. He had a full dark eye; and, although in his latter years his fine countenance became faded with toil and care, it was ever strongly expressive of his character, for it was marked with thoughtfulness, decision, and benevolence. He had an equanimity of mind, of which those persons were little aware who had only seen him amid the vexations arising from the minor details of his profession. He expected, perhaps, too frequently from others the same skill and unwearied attention by which he had himself been uniformly distinguished; and on such occasions betrayed impatience and displeasure, but ever in the guarded expressions that became a gentleman and an officer. On the first appearance, however, of difficulty or danger, he grew calm and composed, to a degree which excited the admiration of all around him. "The Admiral spoke to me," observed Mr. Smith, his servant, "about the middle of the action of Trafalgar, and again for five minutes immediately after its close; and on neither occasion could I observe the slightest change from his ordinary manner. This, at the moment, made an impression on me which will never be effaced; for I wondered how a person whose mind was occupied by such a variety of most important concerns, could, with the utmost ease and equanimity, inquire kindly

“ after my welfare, and talk of common matters as if nothing of any consequence were taking place.”

In his habits of life Lord Collingwood was abstemious, but fond of society, enlivening it often with many humorous remarks, and anecdotes derived from his extensive reading. His own table was plentiful and excellent of its kind; but there was about it a plainness and absence of display, which arose in part from the general simplicity of his character, and in part, perhaps, from the compulsory economy of his earlier life; but was by some erroneously attributed to a love of money. How far he was above any consideration of that kind, these Letters will have abundantly testified. Whenever he thought that he discovered the spirit of money-making among the higher Officers of the Navy, he never failed to speak of it with marked contempt, as a practice that degraded a most noble profession into a sordid trade. That in this instance, as in all others, he practised what he recommended, cannot be more satisfactorily proved than by the fact already recorded in this Work, of his having urged the Spanish Junta, at the commencement of their revolution, to despatch orders to the Canary Islands and their other colonies, to prohibit the sailing of their vessels, which, as he was informed, were preparing to run for Spain, and which, as no formal order for the cessation of hostilities had been issued, would have become the lawful prize of the ships under his command. His acts of charity were frequent and bountiful; and in no instance, as was observed by one who knew him well, did he ever reject the petition of real distress. The same spirit governed him in the final distribution of his property, for he made a most just and generous will, providing liberally for Lady Collingwood and different members of his family, and dividing the remainder between his two

daughters: and having thus, as he observed in that instrument, disposed of the stuff which he left behind him, he prayed God to render the possessors of it contented and happy.

He was on every Sunday a regular and serious attendant at divine worship; and when the state of the weather did not permit the assembling of the crew for that purpose, he was used to retire to his cabin and read the service of the day and some devout book. His religion was calm and rational, and devoid of all pretence. It raised his mind naturally upwards in devotion and gratitude towards God, and manifested itself in benevolence towards men. "I cannot," he once observed, "I cannot, for the life of me, comprehend the religion of an Officer who could pray all one day, and flog his men all the next."

Lord Collingwood left a widow and two daughters—Sarah, afterwards married to the Editor of this volume; and Mary Patience, to Anthony Denny, Esq.

His body was conveyed to England, and deposited in St. Paul's Cathedral, by the side of Lord Nelson. The funeral was attended by his former patron, Sir Peter Parker, by several persons who had filled the highest situations in the Admiralty, and by many eminent members of his own profession. On that occasion, His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence was pleased to address the following gracious Letter to Lady Collingwood:—

MADAM,

Bushy House, Saturday Night.

I this morning received a mourning ring in memory of the deceased Lord Collingwood, which, of course, I owe to your Ladyship's politeness and attention. No one can regret the melancholy event of the death of his Lordship more sincerely than I

do; and I feel great concern in having been prevented from attending the funeral. I was informed that the interment was to be quite private, or else I should have made a point of attending the remains of my departed friend to the grave. No one could have had a more sincere regard for the public character and abilities of Lord Collingwood than myself: indeed, with me it is enough to have been the friend of Nelson, to possess my estimation. The Hero of the Nile, who fell at Trafalgar, was a man of a great mind, but self-taught: Lord Collingwood, the old companion in arms of the immortal Nelson, was equally great in judgment and abilities, and had also the advantage of an excellent education.

Pardon me, Madam, for having said so much on this melancholy occasion; but my feelings as a brother Officer, and my admiration of the late Lord Collingwood, have dictated this expression of my sentiments. I will now conclude, and shall place on the same finger the ring which your Ladyship has sent me, with a gold bust of Lord Nelson. Lord Collingwood's must ever be prized by me as coming from his Family: the bust of Lord Nelson I received from an unknown hand on the day the event of his death reached this Country. To me the two rings are invaluable; and the sight of them must ever give me sensations of grief and admiration.

I remain ever,

MADAM,

Your Ladyship's obedient

and most humble Servant,

WILLIAM.

Without pursuing farther the comparison between these two distinguished Officers, which His Royal Highness has begun, it may be sufficient here to remark the difference of their end: the one falling gloriously in the moment of victory; the other exhausted with fatigue and care in the pursuit of an enemy, whom, with unexampled perseverance, he had sought in vain. Of both these eminent men, it may with equal truth be said, that their devotion to their Country was unbounded, and that in its service they sacrificed their lives. How Lord Collingwood followed his illustrious friend in the earlier periods of their service has been already described: they may now be literally said to share the same grave.

A Monument was erected to Lord Collingwood, by a Vote of Parliament, in St. Paul's Cathedral. There is also a Cenotaph in his native town of Newcastle, which bears the following inscription.

Sacred to the Memory

OF

VICE-ADMIRAL CUTHBERT BARON COLLINGWOOD,

WHO WAS BORN IN THIS TOWN, ON THE 26th SEPTEMBER, 1750,

OF AN ANCIENT FAMILY.

HE SERVED WITH GREAT BRAVERY IN THE ACTION OF THE 1st OF JUNE, 1794,

AND BORE A DISTINGUISHED PART IN

THE VICTORY OFF CAPE ST. VINCENT.

IN THE

GREAT BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR

HE LED THE BRITISH SQUADRONS INTO ACTION, AND ADVANCED WITH HIS SINGLE SHIP
INTO THE MIDST OF THE COMBINED FLEETS OF FRANCE AND SPAIN.

ON THAT DAY, AFTER THE DEATH OF HIS ILLUSTRIOUS COMMANDER AND FRIEND,

LORD NELSON,

HE COMPLETED THE MOST GLORIOUS AND DECISIVE VICTORY

WHICH IS RECORDED IN THE NAVAL ANNALS OF THE WORLD.

IN THE COMMAND OF THE MEDITERRANEAN, TO WHICH HE SUCCEEDED,

HE DISPLAYED UNRIVALLED SKILL AS A SEAMAN,

AND GREAT TALENTS AND ADDRESS IN THE CONDUCT OF MANY IMPORTANT NEGOTIATIONS.

AFTER FIVE YEARS, DURING WHICH HE NEVER QUITTED HIS SHIP FOR A SINGLE NIGHT,

HE BECAME ANXIOUS TO REVISIT HIS NATIVE LAND;

BUT BEING INFORMED THAT HIS SERVICES COULD NOT BE SPARED IN THOSE CRITICAL TIMES,

HE REPLIED, THAT

HIS LIFE WAS HIS COUNTRY'S,

AND PERSEVERED IN THE DISCHARGE OF HIS ARDUOUS DUTIES, TILL, EXHAUSTED WITH FATIGUE,

HE EXPIRED, ON BOARD HIS MAJESTY'S SHIP THE VILLE DE PARIS,

ON THE 7th MARCH, 1810, IN THE 60th YEAR OF HIS AGE.

IN PRIVATE LIFE HE WAS GENEROUS AND AFFECTIONATE —

A PIOUS, JUST, AND EXEMPLARY MAN.

A MONUMENT WAS ERECTED TO HIS MEMORY BY PARLIAMENT,

IN THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. PAUL,

WHERE HE LIES BY THE SIDE OF THE HERO TO WHOM HE SO WORTHILY SUCCEEDED IN

THE VICTORY OF TRAFALGAR.

HIS WIDOW (DAUGHTER OF JOHN ERASMUS BLACKETT, ESQ. OF THIS TOWN,) AND HIS TWO DAUGHTERS,

HAD CAUSED THIS CENOTAPH TO BE ERECTED;

AND ON LADY COLLINGWOOD'S DEATH, ON THE 17th SEPTEMBER, 1819,

IT WAS INSCRIBED

TO BOTH THEIR REVERED AND LAMENTED PARENTS,

BY THEIR GRATEFUL CHILDREN.

On Lord Collingwood's death, his title became extinct; but to his children, (or rather to the survivor of them, for Mrs. Denny was unhappily lost to her infant family, by her death in 1822,) and, as it may be hoped, to their children's children, he has bequeathed an inheritance of which they may be justly proud: for of him it can with truth be said, that he did .

“ ————— to his dear descendants leave
The first, best gift that man can claim;
Better than pomp, by crowds adored,
Or gold immeasurably stored,—
A PURE AND SPOTLESS NAME.”

PINDAR

THE END.

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